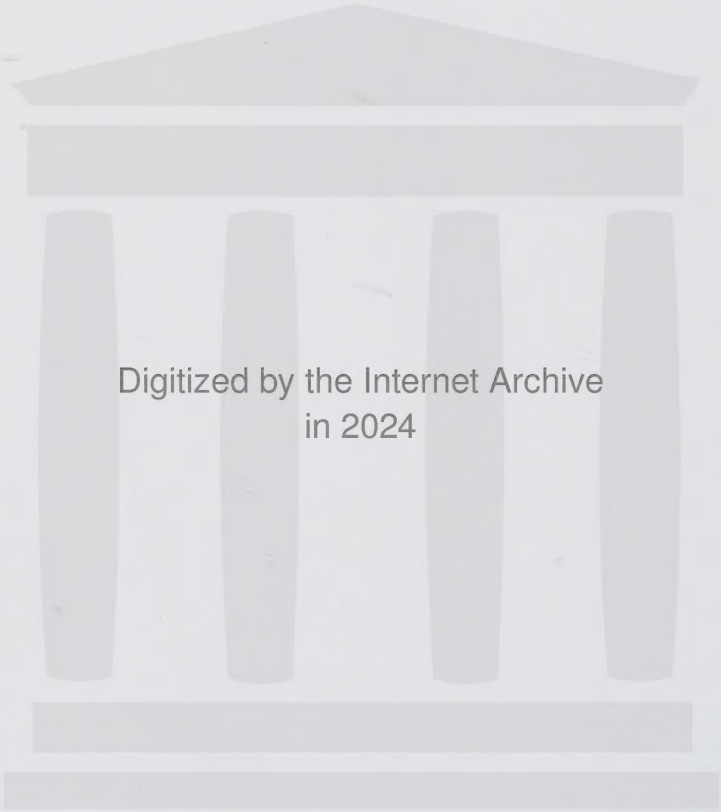
Prostitution In The United States V1: Prior To The Entrance Of The United States Into The World War (1921)

Howard Brown Woolston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PROSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

VOLUME I—PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE WORLD WAR

BY

HOWARD B. WOOLSTON, PH.D.

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1921

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INTRODUCTION

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

THE plans for the study of prostitution in the United States were made before our country entered the world war, and before many important agencies which were later developed by the government had begun to function. The greater part of the field work was done in the first half of the year 1917. The task of putting this and other material connected with the study into shape was interrupted by the author's war service. When it was possible to resume the preparations for publication and the matter on hand was reviewed in the light of war efforts, public and private, for the control of commercialized vice, it became evident that we had passed through a transition period. The termination of the war marked the end of the old order of things in the United States and the beginning of a new era characterized by more extensive and concentrated efforts on the part of the government. It was, therefore, decided to divide the study into two parts. In this first volume we will present an account of the conditions of commercialized prostitution, and of the more important agencies developed to meet the situations as they existed prior to and at the time of our entrance into the world war.

A second volume in course of preparation will deal with

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the influence of the world war on prostitution in the United States.

In order to prepare for an examination of conditions existing in 1917, recent investigations were first thoroughly analyzed and excerpted. The reports of important agencies were carefully examined, recent publications of medical and law enforcement societies were consulted, and standard authorities upon the subject were read. To supplement this printed material, personal interviews and correspondence with vice investigators and authorities in various related lines were followed up.

Upon the basis of this preliminary information uniform schedules were drawn up, to cover conditions in vice resorts and to obtain information upon identical points from authorities in various parts of the country. In this way the data for different places were made more readily comparable and the records remain a permanent source for reference. Hereto are appended the various blanks and forms used in the investigation.[1]

Having arranged the schedules, the next step was to visit a sufficient number of representative centers throughout the United States, in order to obtain at first hand a clear impression of existing conditions. In order to observe various types and stages of local policy regarding vice, it was deemed advisable to visit both cities that were considered good and those regarded as very bad; those in which vice investigations had been made and others where no such examination had been attempted. In making up this list, the advice of officers of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, of the American Social Hygiene As-

[1] See Appendix, page 313.

sociation, and especially of the Department of Justice was sought. Herewith is appended a list of the cities visited and observed.[1] From three to eight days were spent in each of these places, the whole tour occupying seven months.

In order to obtain information from members of the underworld as well as from officials in these places, an experienced field scout was sent ahead to observe conditions in each town. After he had been there for a few days, the writer followed, and was shown some of the more significant aspects of prostitution as it actually existed. Then the scout was given whatever leads were to be obtained from the officers of the Department of Justice or other well informed persons, and was asked to run these down. After this had been done the scout left the city and the writer conducted interviews with various persons in the city. In each case, the medical authorities, the local prosecutor or judge, the responsible head of the police department and the active directors of local reform agencies were interviewed. Through the courtesy of the Department of Justice the writer was enabled to

[1] 1. Atlanta, Ga.
2. Baltimore, Md.
3. Bisbee, Ariz.
4. Boston, Mass.
5. Bridgeport, Ct.
6. Butte, Mont.
7. Chicago, Ill.
8. Cincinnati, O.
9. Cleveland, O.
10. Dallas, Tex.
11. Denver, Colo.
12. Detroit, Mich.
13. Douglas, Ariz.
14. El Paso, Tex.
15. Fort Worth, Tex.
16. Kansas City, Mo.
17. Los Angeles, Cal.
18. Louisville, Ky.
19. Memphis, Tenn.
20. Minneapolis, Minn.
21. New Orleans, La.
22. Norfolk, Va.
23. Omaha, Neb.
24. Paterson, N. J.
25. Philadelphia, Pa.
26. Pittsburgh, Pa.
27. Portland, Me.
28. Portland, Oreg.
29. Providence, R. I.
30. St. Louis, Mo.
31. St. Paul, Minn.
32. Salt Lake City, Utah
33. San Antonio, Tex.
34. San Diego, Cal.
35. San Francisco, Cal.
36. Savannah, Ga.
37. Seattle, Wash.
38. Toledo, O.
39. Tulsa, Okla.
40. Washington, D. C.

visit the Federal prisons and to interview men therein confined under the Mann White Slave Act. Through the kindness of the Surgeon-General of the Army, he was also permitted to visit military posts and training camps, in order to obtain information from the authorities concerning vice conditions in nearby communities so far as they affected enlisted men.

The materials and notes thus collected were subsequently classified, analyzed and summarized in the office. It is upon this combination of recent reports, interviews, and personal investigation that our account of prostitution in America is based. Behind our statements is either some recent printed document, the statement of competent authorities in each locality, or first-hand observations made by the writer or his assistant. Wherever possible we have sought to quote a published source which brings out the point. Not all statements by authorities can be directly quoted, because some of these statements involve persons who were connected with the business of prostitution in violation of the law.

Conclusions from the facts presented are, so far as possible, based upon objective evidence. The writer cannot hope to have escaped sometimes giving the interpretation a personal bias. The purpose has been, however, to make the account as dispassionate and scientific as the nature of the data on hand will permit. Comprehensive statistics and unqualified statements were in many cases not to be obtained. It was therefore necessary to choose what appeared to be representative facts and opinions and to draw conclusions from such typical instances.

An initial chapter on the Historical Background has

been introduced, not as presenting any new point of view, but simply to refresh the mind of the reader as to the very complex origins of the American people, American thought and American institutions.

Acknowledgment for valuable assistance is hereby gratefully made to members of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, to Dr. William F. Snow and his associates in the American Social Hygiene Association, to officers of the Bureau of Immigration and to the many men and women in public and private life who so generously gave their time and assistance to enable the writer to understand conditions and agencies in various cities throughout the country.

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Prostitution in the United States

VOLUME I.—Prior to the Entrance of the United States into the World War.

VOLUME II.—The Influence of the World War.
(In Preparation)

PROSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The American. — Colonial contributions: England; France; Holland; Spain.—Negro slavery and its influence.—Immigration and its effects.—The opening of the West.—Prostitution in New York City.—Laws dealing with sex relations.—Efforts to secure regulation.—The Twentieth Century and commercialized vice.—A New Era.

The American. An American of at least two generations traveling on the Continent of Europe can generally be recognized as such by a stranger. This is not because of his clothes; he may have bought them in England; nor his speech; he is recognized before he utters a word. His ancestors near and further removed may have come from any of the countries of the western world. He may retain in his features some of their characteristics. He may have the warm coloring of the South or the pale blondness of the North. He may be tall or short, slender or stout; but there is an indefinable something about him that marks him out. We are told by anthropologists that nature is at work here in the United States, taking the raw materials furnished by all the nations of the world and in our

great national laboratory under the influences of our climate and our institutions, fashioning a new type—the American. If this is true, as it seems to be, a great miracle has been wrought in less than three hundred years.

But this mingling of blood has produced not only a new physical type; each contributing factor has brought characteristics, not only of the flesh but of the spirit. When we attempt to analyze any general attitude of mind that we may characterize as distinctly American, we find the evidences of inherited traits from widely separated and possibly warring sources. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." And so are his institutions. Social institutions are in the last analysis the products of our thought. To understand them we must unravel the threads that hold them together and trace each separate filament back to its roots. But in the United States we have, beside the extremely complex human element, certain physical factors which greatly affect our institutions. The most important of these are our geographical extent and our political organization.

We are to undertake a study of prostitution in the United States. What does this mean as compared with a similar study made, for example, in England? England's population, in the first place, despite heavy immigration is relatively homogeneous. It is centuries since she has experienced any foreign invasion which has left its mark in her blood. She has one habit of mind, one tradition. In size she compares with one of our medium-sized states. While there are moderate variations—for

example, between the north of England and the south coast—when we speak of England's climate we all have the same thing in mind. England has one Parliament which centralizes the general legislation for the entire country. How different in these particulars is the United States. A railroad journey from New York to San Francisco is longer than that from London to Constantinople. Climate is generally believed to affect not only physical development, so that maturity comes earlier in one climate than another, but we speak of the "hot passions of the south," and perhaps erroneously attribute certain sex crimes to the more unrestricted emotions of dwellers under a torrid sun. Northern Minnesota and Wisconsin may experience annually over some months of the year temperatures that for weeks at a time run far below the zero mark, while in southern Florida and in California we have the heat, the luxurious vegetation and the enervating air of the sub-tropics. The United States must bear the consequences of a range of climate practically greater than that from northernmost England to southernmost Italy.

Politically we are divided into forty-eight states. Each state is independent in its law-making powers so far as its domestic affairs are concerned. Except where any matter can be clearly shown to concern the affairs of more than one state, the federal government has no power of dictation. This is true of even such vital matters as marriage and divorce laws, which in a subsequent chapter are shown to have an important bearing on the problems of prostitution. As illustrative of the forces that have been at work in various parts of the country

to tolerate or to repress prostitution, we can here, perhaps, point to the influence of public sentiment based on these traditional attitudes of mind in frustrating many attempts at securing a unification of such laws.

These differences in the character of our population, our geographical extent and our more complex political organization, lead us to expect divergences and conflicts of opinion as to the moral and social values involved, as well as practical differences in the character of statutory laws, ordinances and police regulations dealing with prostitution, and the faithfulness of their enforcement in different sections and in individual states. Were we studying English or French or Scandinavian conditions, we should be studying one definite situation. In the United States we must study what amounts to practically forty-eight separate situations.

COLONIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

England. Between 1607 and 1733 the English came to the United States and founded thirteen permanent colonies. These first settlers brought with them not only their wives and children and a minimum of household goods, but also a set of opinions, certain mental predispositions, religious attitudes, a conscious or unconscious outlook on moral and social questions which was the product of their special English environment. Although the Puritan of New England and the Cavalier of Maryland arrived within two decades of each other, each brought his peculiar prejudices to contribute to our historical background. The Puritans came because of dissatisfaction with the attitude of their government

toward religious freedom, although upon looking back we can see that there could scarcely be greater intolerance than they themselves later exhibited. The settlers of the more southern colonies came from economic motives or from pure love of adventure. Not a few of them were sent over against their will as indentured servants, many of them having been convicted of petty crimes and transported to the colonies as punishment therefor. They were of the type which does little individual reasoning on moral issues, but unconsciously accepts and imitates the position of the most influential, most successful or most fashionable groups of their times. They were not independent thinkers so much as independent doers. The Puritans were both.

All of the English settlers along the Atlantic seaboard, both north and south, were born and had passed at least their childhood in the "Spacious days of great Elizabeth." They were mentally the product of her time. To understand what this means, as bearing on our subject, we turn to the literature rather than the history of the period. The latter tells us that the great religious conflict, begun in the reign of Henry VIII, continued during the brief life of Edward VI, and touching the extreme points of passion under Mary, had resulted under Elizabeth in a victory for the party of reformation. The Reformation in England meant, indeed, the separation from Rome, but it also meant the establishment of a State Church equally insistent upon conformity.

The Pilgrims leaving England shortly after the death of Elizabeth must have carried with them not only dis-

satisfaction with the public attitude toward forms of worship, but the deepest repugnance to the moral atmosphere of the time as exhibited in court circles and reflected in the lives of the various social strata. Form rather than substance seems to have been at the bottom of much of the quarrel, but the kind of men the records show the Pilgrims to have been could not countenance dissolutenness and profligacy. Unexpurgated editions of the Elizabethan drama give more than hints not only of the gross language of the period, but also of the loose conduct common in that day. Adultery, fornication and prostitution were at most but venial sins in the eyes of the man of the world.

The Puritans who came directly from England to the Massachusetts colony were men of the same stamp as the Pilgrims. Both groups brought to our shores that peculiar and extreme attitude as to all worldly pleasures and gratification of the senses which has ever since been identified with the adjective "Puritan." Yet while their moral code would not tolerate a class of recognized prostitutes, a study of the statutes passed by early legislative bodies shows that there were those among them unable to control their human passions. So we find laws dealing with fornication, the keeping of bawdy houses, "night walking" and adultery, and the penalties prescribed therefor—the payment of fines, the stocks, the whipping post, the jail and the scarlet letter.

Farther to the south, in Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, certain elements of the population affected the situation as to sexual morality to an extent unknown

in the north. Evidence is not wanting in colonial records to show the demoralizing influence of the presence of indentured servants, particularly those of the criminal classes. For example, as early as 1664 a proposition was made in a report to the English Council for Foreign Plantations that the American settlements be accommodated with servants—"felons condemned to death, sturdy beggars, gipsies and other incorrigible rogues, and poor and idle debauched persons." Later lists specify "lewd and dangerous persons, vagrants and idle persons who refuse to work." Among the felons were listed those who had committed such offenses as bigamy and rape.

It is not remarkable, therefore, that we find in court records of Maryland that illegitimacy began to offer serious problems in even the very early days. Enactments were made from time to time dealing with its various phases. The bastard children of white women servants became in turn bound to the master, and the mothers themselves were required to serve an additional number of years, as is shown by the statutes regulating length of such terms. Apparently, therefore, a premium was put on immorality, of which certain masters were not above taking advantage. Calhoun, in his recent book on *The American Family,* quotes an Episcopal rector of the colony of Maryland who wrote as early as 1676—"All notorious vices are committed; so that it is become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity." Early sex difficulties which resulted from the presence of Negro slaves working among the indentured servants is also indicated by a law passed in 1662

doubling the fine imposed as a penalty for fornication if one party to the offense was a Negro.

France. It may be questioned whether the earliest French settlers in the Central Atlantic colonies formed a sufficient proportion of the entire population to leave permanently any distinct impression on the mode of thought of those sections of the country in which they were most numerous. Moreover, French customs and French laws regarding sex immorality harmonized closely, in all probability, with the point of view (if there was consciously *any* point of view on this subject) of the English Cavalier settlers of these colonies. It was otherwise with the groups of Frenchmen who later founded the permanent settlements at New Orleans and other points near the mouth of the Mississippi. Here the motives back of the groups of men who promoted the various expeditions were neither religious nor economic in the true sense—that is, connected particularly with the desire to extend trade. They were speculatively financial, and drew to our southern shores a group of adventurers who, strangely enough, remained in numbers and built up a colony even after the financial bubble had burst. From that time to the present, the French imprint on New Orleans and its neighborhood is its distinctive characteristic. Incidentally we note that among the eight hundred immigrants who in 1718 formed the first permanent group there were eighty convicts who came to help with the necessary manual labor, and they, like the convicts and indentured servants in Virginia, became American forefathers.

The France they had left was that immediately fol-

lowing the long reign of Louis XIV, the last years of which at least emphasized outward order and decency. Indeed, whatever had been the sensual indulgence of the court itself and the nobility, Louis in his zeal to break down the privileges of the latter had accomplished certain reforms. An ordinance had been passed as early as 1560 ordering prostitutes to quit Paris, but it was probably never rigidly enforced. Any French emigrant from Paris to America in this period, moreover, was familiar with police methods of regulating prostitution. In his history of prostitution, Dr. Sanger quotes Parent-Duchatelet[1] (*De la Prostitution dans le Ville de Paris, II*, 473) as follows: "Monsieur Parent-Duchatelet, who had the patience to read all the records of proceedings against prostitution in the city of Paris from 1724 to 1788, infers the law from these instances of its application, and concludes: (1) That, notwithstanding the ordinance of 1560, brothels were licensed by the police. (2) That prostitutes were never troubled except on complaint of a responsible person. (3) That brothels were disorderly; that riots, rows and murders not infrequently occurred within their walls or in their neighborhood. (4) That the punishment was left to the discretion of the magistrate. (5) That the penalties inflicted were lighter toward the close of the period examined. (6) That certain streets in Paris were wholly occupied by prostitutes."

The first settlers of New Orleans, therefore, must have been entirely familiar with the *reglementation* so identified with prostitution on the Continent. As it was later

[1] W. W. Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, page 121.

the custom for the more comfortable families in Virginia to send their sons to England for education, and to keep in touch with English thought, so from New Orleans the young men of good family went to France for their training and brought back, generation after generation, the French attitude thought proper for the man of the world. There has thus resulted by direct descent a point of view which finds one expression in an existing state law of Louisiana referred to in our chapter on the segregated district, and which exhibits its influence in the laws of its neighboring states, Arizona and New Mexico.

Holland. There is abundant historical evidence to show that Holland at the time of the settlement of New Amsterdam was in the lead among European nations so far as sexual morals and decency is concerned. Ludovico Guiciardini, an Italian, who traveled in Holland in the middle of the sixteenth century and who has left a detailed account of the habits of the people, writes: "They hold adultery in horror. Their women are extremely circumspect and consequently are allowed much freedom. They go out alone to make visits and even journeys without evil report. They are able to take care of themselves." Campbell in his study of the Puritans in Holland, England and America, speaking of the influence of the Dutch on the English Puritans who temporarily settled in Holland, says that "Holland was two centuries in advance of England in all the decencies of living." He refers especially to the high regard in which the marriage vows were held.

The Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam brought to that complex individual, the American, some of the most

important ingredients in his composition. Their notorious thrift, their conservatism, their respect for authority, and their regard for order and decency are some of the most important characteristics which they contributed to the common fund. In their settlements these characteristics always dominated. Not animated with religious zeal like the Pilgrims, nor so fired by an adventurous spirit as the settlers in Virginia and the south, without the missionary fervor of the French fathers or the lust for gold of the Spanish conquerors;—the Dutch in America stand for good, straight common sense and practical wisdom. The general prosperity of the middle colonies and the sane outlook on life which there prevailed is doubtless due in part to the stabilizing effect of this component in our blood.

Spain. As early as the 12th century there was in Spain very detailed legislation concerning all phases of prostitution. These laws dealt with such matters as the conducting of brothels and the conduct of their keepers. They prescribed punishment for the traffickers in women and those who lived off their earnings. They even minutely regulated the lives of the prostitutes themselves, going so far, it is said, as to prescribe the way in which their ill-gotten money could be spent. The public danger offered by the prostitute as a disease-carrier was recognized as early as 1570. Surgeons had already been employed to visit prostitutes and report to the public officials on their physical condition, in order that they might, if necessary, be taken for treatment to hospitals provided for the purpose. There seems little reason to believe that venereal disease was brought to Spain from

America, inasmuch as references in numerous writings long before this period point unquestionably to its presence in Europe. Be that as it may, the early Spanish settlers in Florida and the southwest were undoubtedly familiar with the registered aspects of prostitution and probably also with the inequality in or entire lack of enforcement of the regulations, such as was common at the time in Spain. They, too, undoubtedly regarded prostitution as a matter of course. In a new and sparsely-settled country, such as the southwest remained until after the middle of the last century, there was no place for it as an institution. Women were too scarce and too valuable as wives, mothers and co-helpers in subduing nature, to make it possible to set aside any group of them for such purposes. The Spanish blood, mixed as it was with that of the Mexican Indians, was not likely to produce high ideals of sexual morality. The means of gratification were necessarily those of primitive communities. Whatever trace of Spanish influence remains at the present time must be sought for in the southwest, and even there only indirectly, through the numberless Mexican settlers who in every community along the border while furnishing their proportion of the patrons of vice contribute still more largely to the supply of prostitutes. In these localities, while something in the way of controlling certain manifestations of vice can undoubtedly be accomplished through legislation, before the level of public morality can be greatly raised the help of the constructive agencies described in our last chapter is most imperatively needed.

Negro Slavery. An important factor in our American

development, for which there is nothing comparable in the history of England and France, is the presence of the great group of Negroes. Almost from the beginning, in all our colonies, the Negroes were with us as slaves. After the development of the cotton industry, however, they were concentrated in hundreds of thousands in our South Atlantic and Gulf states and remained in slavery until after the Civil War. A woman whose body is the actual property of a man, in the same way as is that of a horse or a cow, to be disposed of as he sees fit, finds any physical attractiveness she may possess a distinct bar to virtue. In a society which accepts as a matter of course a double standard of sex morality and a belief in the physical necessity of the sex act for men, it is to be expected that the presence in its midst of a group of women without legal right to their own persons would make prostitution in its accepted sense almost unnecessary.

Since the Civil War the lack of adequate educational opportunities, particularly in the rural districts of the south where the greatest density of negro population exists, has resulted in a high percentage of illiteracy. The limitation of their employment in industry to a few occupations, leaving for the most part only unskilled work open to them, has discouraged ambition. The drift from farm to city of large numbers of unattached young people of both sexes has been as marked of the Negro as of his white brethren. The temptations which assail young girls in strange and unprotected surroundings have been particularly dangerous to untrained and un-

disciplined colored girls, who become the prey of the unprincipled of both races.

It is therefore not remarkable that we should find, in southern cities particularly, but in the north as well, the ranks of prostitutes swelled by colored women until in New York City, for example, they now number several times their proportion in the total population.[1]

The importance of our problem, however, is not so much the effect of the presence in our midst of the Negro woman as a source of supply, as it is the psychological effect on the demand. Where no repugnance to difference in race exists—and experience would seem to show that where the sex instinct is involved it is almost negligible—this weaker group, less morally capable of defense, industrially less efficient, and socially ostracized, could hardly fail to foster that sense of male superiority and condescension as well as of excuse on the ground of the comparative worthlessness of his prey which furnishes the mental justification for physical indulgence.

Immigration and its effects. After the first founding of the colonies much of the early immigration was due to a hope of improving economic conditions and, after 1800, of raising families in a country where

[1] While in the absence of a complete census of prostitutes in New York City it is impossible to give exact figures, inferences can be drawn from available data and special studies.

The Federal Census of 1910 shows that Negro women over 15 years of age form 2.4 per cent of the population.

Statistics as to race and offense found in the reports of the Department of Correction and of the City Magistrates show that the colored women furnish from 13 to 16 per cent of the total number of convicted women and a higher percentage than this of colored women convicted of prostitutional offenses.

See also *A Study of Delinquent Women in New York State*, The Century Company, 1920, pages 172 and 400.

no class prejudices barred attainment to a better position in the social scale. For two hundred years we were accustomed to think of these thousands as "colonists" or "settlers." They, like the Pilgrims, were our forefathers. But when there was no more land to be taken up and a change came in the character of the newcomers, our point of view changed also and they became "immigrants." We had established what we may call a type, a norm or a fixed point of reference—what we called "an American"—and in contrast the newcomers were "foreigners." Until the fourth and fifth decades of the last century, however, immigration amounted to no more in volume than could be absorbed and rapidly Americanized. Prior to 1842 the total number entering the country in any one year had never exceeded 80,000. In that year the 100,000 mark was reached. These hordes of people, first from the western and northwestern countries of Europe, later, in ever-increasing numbers, from the south and east, brought with them the views on sex relationship prevalent in their particular countries and in the social strata from which they came. These were views not merely in regard to prostitution as an institution, for in practically all continental Europe this has always been regarded as necessary and inevitable. That there is, however, some relationship between the general public attitude in regard to freedom of extra-marital intercourse and the volume and type of prostitution there is no doubt whatever. What this relationship is and how it works out is a moot question.

Opposing the point of view that greater sexual free-

dom will restrict the volume of paid prostitution is another view which would seem to be justified by history. In the past, wherever great license has prevailed, where sex restraint is broken down for both sexes, paid prostitution has stood side by side with free association, and with it has come perversion and every degenerate practice known to man. Unrestricted license, over-indulgence of a function for sheer sensation's sake, has always, with sex as with other appetites, reached a point where new devices must be sought to stimulate jaded senses. To-day in some Latin countries where divorce is not yet recognized as a remedy for sex unhappiness, a genuine belief exists among certain groups of intelligent people, that the only cure for prostitution is a frank recognition of sex necessity and a social sanction of temporary relationships, particularly among the unmarried. Such views, held by the higher social groups, are apt to be reflected in the theory and practice of those lower in the social scale. Immigration from countries where such views are held cannot fail to reflect itself in the social behavior of the immigrant from the point of view of both demand and supply so far as prostitution is concerned.

In certain more northern countries intercourse between young people before marriage has always been a common custom. If a child were born as a result, the wedding ceremony was celebrated as soon as a dwelling-house for the new family could be obtained. The proprietor of a great estate between Bohemia and Moravia told the writer years ago that all the neighboring landowners preferred that the unmarried women on their

land should bear children, as it bound them more closely to the soil. In certain valleys of Sweden the same views exist to-day. The custom of pre-marital sex relations was brought to this country comparatively early in our history and persists to-day in certain localities of Pennsylvania settled by the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch" (Germans from the Palatinate), and parts of Delaware settled by the Swedes. Although such relations may be entered into to-day, there is not the same likelihood of marriage to legitimatize the children of such unions, and the custom probably has its effect in swelling the volume of American prostitutes.

In the over-populated elder countries, any unfortunate condition, whether economic, political or religious, has always a tendency to drive large groups of people to seek new homes in foreign lands. We shall presently see how at various times this drift has been almost instantly reflected in the character of the prostitute class on this side of the water.

The Opening of the West. The discovery of gold in California in '48 and '49 set in motion a tide of internal emigration to the Pacific shores. A little later, to be sure, the canvas-covered wagons brought the wives and children of the permanent settlers, but the early rush was the unencumbered, adventurous, strong-bodied youth of the east. The characteristics of the mining camps and towns were those universally found under such circumstances in South Africa, in Australia, and later in Alaska. The women who first followed the miners were not their wives and mothers and daughters, but those women who everywhere are drawn by the lure of money easily found

and easily spent. Bret Harte's stories give vivid pictures of life in the mining settlements. The "cribs" still found in the southwest and even in the cities of the northeast which attract the floating population of the lumber districts are the revolting remains of a sordid phase of what, but for that, would be a romantic venture and a picturesque struggle to conquer the forces of nature. The later immigration of Chinese and Japanese to California brought in a distinctly alien element, but inasmuch as the bulk of California settlements was from eastern states rather than from the first generation of Europeans, California, Oregon and Washington long ago caught up with their eastern sisters in all matters of life and duty affecting a decent community, and now bid fair to outstrip them in social legislation.

Prostitution in New York City. New York City is the landing-place of the great body of immigrants and would naturally first show the results of any change in its character. This is well illustrated by two interesting studies of prostitution made in this city at intervals of over half a century.

In the early fifties of the last century, Irish famine and English unrest were prominent factors in driving hundreds of thousands of British subjects to seek asylum in the United States. In 1855 Dr. W. W. Sanger, author of *The History of Prostitution,* made a study of the situation in New York City. Under the direction of the city police, 2,000 prostitutes filled out questionnaires giving such information as nativity, age, economic conditions and reasons for entering the life. It was found that of this number, 1,238 women, or 61.09 per cent,

had been born in foreign countries. Of these, by far the greatest number, 863, came from Great Britain and 706 were Irish. Germany furnished the next largest number—357; Italy, 1; Austria, 1, and Poland, 3. There was not one from Russia nor from any country of southeastern Europe. In the hordes of immigrants at this time there must have been hundreds of young women, who, unable to support themselves at home, found it still more difficult in a new and strange world. This must have been particularly true of the peasant type of Irish girl, and no doubt explains the high percentage of Irish prostitutes.

Fifty-seven years later, or in 1912, a study directed by Mr. George Kneeland was made of approximately the same number of prostitutes. In the first place it is most interesting to find that of the 2,363 cases included, only 664 individuals, or 28 per cent, were foreign born. Thus the percentage of foreign born has been cut in half and the number of American-born prostitutes proportionately increased in this period. A distinct change has come in the place occupied by the respective countries. Russia leads with 197 cases; Germany is still second with 122; Great Britain falls from first to third place—115—with an almost equal number of English and Irish prostitutes; Austria-Hungary is close behind with 110, and other countries of southeastern Europe contribute 45. As it had been economic conditions that brought the Irish here in 1840, so it was largely religious persecution, rather than deliberate choice, which sent the Russians half a century later. And as in the former case, so in the latter. The country-bred girl, unskilled in the

industrial life of the city, coming from necessity—not choice—accounts for the great number of Russian prostitutes. If at any time, as for example, at the close of the World War, economic or other causes should work in the same way, bringing in, perhaps, an enormous number from the Balkan States, we should expect to see the ranks of prostitutes filled up with the unfortunate women of Bulgaria, Austria and Roumania.

Laws dealing with sex relations. As a natural consequence of the settlement of the United States by colonists from countries having differing legal as well as social antecedents, we find in the various states differences not only in the history and character of the statute laws, but also in the dates of their enactment. Thus, in a survey of the more important of these laws, certain colonies and certain states will be found to have lagged behind others where public sentiment regarding attempts at regulating private morals was much more favorable.

Our early statute law consists largely in the enactment of the common law. American common law is chiefly based upon the common law of England existing prior to the time of King James II, but somewhat also upon English statutory law, the ecclesiastical law of England and the civil law of the Continent, which is the product of Roman law. Generally speaking, those parts of the United States settled by English colonists adopted into their common law the common and ecclesiastical laws of England. In those parts which were originally territories of France and Spain the common law is to a certain extent based upon the Roman or civil law, although also influenced in some degree by the English

common law. As illustrative of these differences we will cite the position of various states and the action taken as to typical offenses connected with sexual morality.

Adultery—a social offense since before the day the law was given to Moses,—was in England punished by the ecclesiastical courts and not by English common laws. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and North Carolina, among the original colonies, held that adultery was a common law offense; but the colony of Massachusetts, as early as 1694, made it a statutory offense, and this law was reënacted by the state of Massachusetts in 1784. South Carolina and Virginia, on the other hand, held that the offense is not cognizable by the common law courts. Virginia made it a statutory offense in 1777; but it was not until 1880—more than a century later—that South Carolina enacted its adultery statute. Wisconsin in its first legislature in 1849 passed several important laws with reference to sexual conduct, including the law against adultery. In 1858, thirteen years after her admission to the Union, Texas passed a similar law. California had no law against adultery prior to 1901.

Fornication was never recognized as an offense either by the English or the American common law.[1] The Puritan influence in Massachusetts was responsible for making fornication a statutory offense in 1692, two years before the passage of the law against adultery; and this law was reënacted by the state legislature of 1785. Wisconsin's first legislature enacted the law, and Texas passed its adultery and fornication laws the same year.

[1] See 3 Wharton's *Criminal Law*, page 2,251.

Louisiana has never passed such a law, nor has California. They are among the twelve states of which this is true.[1]

Open and gross lewdness is an offense in both English and American common law. This is probably due to the fact that it is regarded as an offense against decency. Adultery and open and gross lewdness are two of the oldest sex offenses. By "open and gross lewdness" is usually meant the living together openly by two persons who are not married to each other. This offense might also include fornication or adultery, depending upon the marital status of the defendant.[2] Massachusetts, Virginia, Wisconsin and Texas passed their laws against open and gross lewdness at the same time with the laws against fornication. In California, in 1901, open and gross lewdness was made an offense as to married persons only. In Louisiana, open and gross lewdness, like the offenses cited above, is not accounted an offense.

Both in English and American common law, keeping a bawdy house is an offense. Such places were regarded as nuisances, and the offense charged in such cases was that of maintaining a nuisance. The colonial legislature of Massachusetts made this a statutory offense in 1790, and the state legislature in 1793. Virginia made it a statutory offense in 1877; but in South Carolina it is still a common law offense. California passed the law in 1872. The Texas and Wisconsin laws were enacted in the same year as those mentioned in the preceding

[1] See Chapter IX, page 228.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 230.

paragraphs. In the state of Louisiana keeping a bawdy house has not yet been recognized as a common law offense, nor has it been made a statutory offense.

From very early times night walking was deemed an offense in Massachusetts. At the end of its first half century the colony, it is evident, was not free from the class of women who earn their livelihood in this way, for the law against such practices was enacted in the colonial assembly of 1699, and reënacted by the state legislature in 1787. In an early Alabama case, a night walker—that is, a woman strolling the streets at night for immoral purposes—was defined thus: "A woman who walks the street at night for the purpose of picking up men for lewd practices." She was indictable at common law both English and American.[1] It is still a common law offense in Virginia, but a statutory offense in Wisconsin since 1849. California, in 1880, made it an offense to solicit another to visit a house of prostitution, but with this exception, solicitation, loitering or night walking is not an offense in California, South Carolina or Texas.

A fuller discussion of prostitution and the laws concerning it, will be had in Chapter IX. We note here that prostitution was not an offense either in English or American common law, and that prior to the World War, to be a prostitute was for the most part not in itself an offense, but was generally regarded as a condition of vagrancy. For example, prior to 1917, in Massachusetts a prostitute could not be punished as such, but must be held under the fornication or adultery laws or

[1] *Stokes vs. State*, 92, Ala, 73.

for being a common night walker. To the lay mind that regards the moral import rather than the legal technicality there seems to be little difference between apprehending a woman as a common prostitute, as a vagrant, or a lewd person, or for soliciting, night walking, loitering or nuisance, or for being a disorderly person, when it is generally understood that she is on the street for one purpose and one only. To such a person, superficially familiar, however, with the outward aspects of the law and court procedure, the meticulous care with which distinctions are drawn between these various offenses and the use of these distinctions by lawyers for the defense causes wonder, not as to the number of convictions secured, but that all who come before the court do not go free.

Efforts to secure regulation of vice. The temper of the American people as a whole has always been opposed to anything which could be interpreted as a licensing of vice. Nevertheless, as would be expected from our mixed antecedents and intimate knowledge of conditions in England and on the Continent, attempts have from time to time been made to introduce in one form or another the regulation of prostitution. The passage of the English Contagious Disease Act in 1864, and the reported success of the measure in controlling venereal disease, undoubtedly had its influence in this country. Even before this, however, various organized bodies, often medical associations, had pointed out the alleged desirability of such action in the interests of public health. Thus, Sanger prints the report on prostitution

and syphilis,[1] made in 1855 by the Medical Board of Bellevue Hospital to the Board of Governors of the Alms House of New York City. Several of New York's most eminent physicians were members of this board.

After reviewing the situation of prostitution in the city, the rapid spread of venereal disease and the inadequacy of existing methods of dealing with it, they say:— "No rigor of punishment, no violence of public denunciation, neither exile nor the dungeon, nor yet the lingering malady with which Nature punishes the practice, has ever effected its extermination (prostitution) for a single year." They believed that New York City must make some change in its policy, and must work out some system to limit and control prostitution, for the primary purpose of eradicating venereal disease. They were not prepared, however, to suggest a detailed method, but recommended that this be left for a future commission. Apparently, however, nothing further was done until after the Civil War.

In 1871 a bill providing for legal regulation of prostitution was passed by the New York legislature. It received a pocket veto and never became a law. In 1875 the New York Legislative Committee on Crime reported in favor of a regulation system. A bill was again introduced for this purpose, but was again defeated. It was said that this defeat was to some extent due to a memorial prepared by the Women's Social Educational Society of New York and others, and extensively signed. This memorial contained, in addition to the usual moral arguments against regulation, the statement that experi-

[1] W. W. Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, page 66.

ence abroad had abundantly demonstrated the failure of the system of licensing prostitution as a sanitary measure; that out of a large population of women and men only a relatively small number of women are licensed and subjected to medical inspection, and that dissolute men are neither inspected nor restrained. It also emphasized the corrupting effect on the police of the policy of regulation.

On June 2, 1876, a Grand Jury of the City of New York made a presentment in the Court of General Sessions strongly urging the legislature to legalize prostitution. It urged first that under present conditions unsegregated prostitutes were scattered over all the city; second, that if houses of prostitution were to be suppressed, prostitutes would be harbored in tenement houses and other dwellings inhabited by respectable people, which would have a tendency to deprave the young; third, "It is quite settled that legislation to suppress prostitution is, and must be, ineffective"; fourth, that the prevalence and ravages of venereal diseases made regulated segregation necessary—"The spread of disease would be thereby almost if not entirely stopped"; fifth, it argued that "Though impossible to suppress prostitution, it is comparatively easy to regulate and circumscribe, and careful supervision by the Board of Health and Police would do much to check the evils growing out of it."

At this time there was visiting in New York City a Committee sent as delegates from the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution. Upon publication

of the Grand Jury's presentment, this Committee, under date of June 5, 1876, replied through the New York *Herald,* adducing facts showing that the experience of Great Britain and the Continent had been far from satisfactory. Several open conferences were held by the Committee under the guidance of Mr. Aaron N. Powell. Public sentiment was aroused against regulation, and no legislation was passed.[1]

The repeal, two years previously, of the Missouri bill regulating and controlling prostitution in the City of St. Louis, had also, perhaps, its influence. In 1870 the legislature of Missouri had enacted an amendment to the Charter of St. Louis giving the city power "to suppress or regulate houses of ill-fame." After four years' experience of the licensing system, however, so much public opposition was aroused that as the result of a campaign led by Dr. Elliott of Washington University, the law was repealed in 1874.[2] Dramatic incidents in the legislature connected with its repeal are described by Sanger.[3] He quotes from the St. Louis *Morning Advertiser* of January 12, 1895, a newspaper article entitled "The Missouri Social Evil Law," to the effect that the repeal of the law was the result of no failure of the measure to accomplish the wholesome ends for which it was enacted, but was in obedience to a morbid sentiment begotten with absolute ignorance of the subject. It is said that the law received the almost unanimous en-

[1] *Report of the Committee to the United States from the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution.*

[2] *Laws for the Regulation of Vice,* Sheldon Amos, page 417, London, 1877.

[3] Loc. cit., page 694.

dorsement of the doctors of medicine of the state, but quite as unanimously the condemnation of the doctors of divinity.

About the same time or a little previous to this last attempt on the part of New York, similar efforts had been made in other states. In 1874 a bill giving cities power to segregate prostitution was introduced in Pennsylvania. A protest, signed by 52 physicians and others, was presented to the legislature, containing among other things the statement on the subject of sex necessity and the single standard of morals, that "there is neither physical nor social necessity for men or women to yield themselves to a life of evil"; that there should not be set aside by law "a class of women who are to be held as the instruments of the legalized lust of habitually profligate men"; and, finally, that "The welfare of society demands that all men should be held amenable to the same standard of morals as is required of women. Therefore, we do protest against any recognition of the false and demoralizing claim that this most destructive of vices and crimes is a necessity." The bill failed of passage.

In Cincinnati in 1874 an ordinance to regulate prostitution was defeated after considerable publicity and public protest. In 1871 a similar effort in Chicago had failed, largely due to the vigorous opposition of the women of the city. Unsuccessful attempts to permit the licensing of prostitution in Baltimore had also been made. On three different occasions attempts have been made to place the District of Columbia under some regulation system through action of Congress, but each time the bills have failed of passage.

The Historical Background

An interesting experiment in war-time regulation was described at the eighth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in New Orleans, November, 1880, when Dr. A. L. Geehon, Chairman of a Committee appointed to investigate the prevalence of venereal disease and suggest a practical plan of prevention, reported on the experiment made in Nashville, Tenn., during three years of the Civil War. This was said to be "the first occasion of any systematic inspection of prostitutes ever attempted in the United States." It was undertaken as a protection of the troops stationed in the neighborhood. Prostitutes were examined at first every two weeks, and later every ten days. The results were reported to be a very marked lessening in the amount of venereal disease.[1]

In recent years less well organized efforts on the part of well-meaning but not well-informed men toward the same ends, undertaken in different parts of the country, have been nipped in the bud, largely through the agency of various Social Hygiene organizations.

The Twentieth Century and Commercialized Vice. It was not until the early years of the twentieth century that the whole country awoke to the disgrace of a system of commercialized vice which, unknown to the vast majority of our citizens, had grown up in our midst.

We were practically without laws aimed at the exploiters of women, such as panderers, procurers, pimps and others who make vice a business. The agitation in England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century against the international traffic in English, Scotch and

[1] Sanger, loc. cit., page 697.

Irish girls for purposes of prostitution, led at first by the National Vigilance Committee and later by the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, culminated in the Paris Conference in 1902.[1] At this conference the United States was not represented, but its findings were largely responsible for the arousing of public opinion in the United States to conditions in our own midst. Later a Vice Commission was formed in Chicago and the publication of its report was followed by the organization of similar commissions in other cities. In New York City a Special Grand Jury conducted a searching inquiry into commercialized forms of vice. The reports of these bodies were attended with much newspaper publicity. The shocking details brought home for the first time to the American people resulted between 1911 and 1915 in the passage of laws by practically every state in the Union, punishing those guilty of forcing girls and women into prostitution, those guilty of pandering, and those living off the earnings of prostitution.

A comparison of the states passing laws against these three classes of offenses reveals some interesting facts. Only three of the 48 states—North Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi—passed none of them. Louisiana, a laggard in other sex legislation, passed all of them, as did every eastern, northern and Pacific Coast state, as well as Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky and Arizona. Of the remaining states, Ohio, Kansas, Colorado and Iowa passed two of the three, as did Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina and

[1] See Chapter VI, White Slavery.

Tennessee. A strong public sentiment against profiting financially by the proceeds of prostitution carried all before it, in marked contrast to the feeling then existing in regard to individual indulgence. As to pre-World War legislation in general, the banner states were Massachusetts, New York, Illinois and Utah, in each of which the legislature had passed not only the so-called White Slave Laws, but also those making soliciting a punishable offense and classifying prostitutes as vagrants.[1]

Thus, before the war we were better protected in these particulars than we were against the offenses connected with the activities of the prostitute herself.

A New Era. The circumstances attending the entrance of the United States into the World War brought home to the American people as nothing in our previous history had ever done, the menace of prostitution and venereal diseases to the young manhood of our country. Conditions along the Mexican border during the years just preceding the war had shown the possibilities of organized activities as promoters of morale. Reports made by Dr. Max Exner, then of the International Board, Y. M. C. A., and Mr. Raymond Fosdick of the Bureau of Social Hygiene showed not only the age-old menace to our men in uncontrolled camp surroundings but also pointed out lines along which progress could be made. The necessity for a physically fit army led our government to steps never before undertaken by a nation in arms. The Commission on Training Camp Activities, uniting as it did with special departments of the

[1] See tables in *Publication No. 313,* American Social Hygiene Association.

offices of the Surgeons-General of both the Army and the Navy, and of the Public Health Service, conducted a campaign to this end that extended to every camp and every camp community in the United States and France. Later the program of education, law enforcement, medical measures and recreation was developed to include the civilian communities from which our military and naval forces were recruited. Nor did this work cease with the Armistice and the withdrawal of our soldiers from France. The headway gained during the war carried us at least ten years forward in our efforts to control venereal disease and suppress prostitution. It does not seem an overstatement to say that April 6, 1917, definitely marks the date of a new era in the fight.

The story of the last four years is so important in its bearing on every phase of the program of Social Hygiene that it will be told in another volume.

CHAPTER II

THE PROSTITUTE

The Prostitute defined.—Classes.—Number in the United States.—Age.—Nativity.—Civil Status.—Children.—Physical condition.—Mentality.—Family history.—Education.—Occupation.—Earnings.—Living conditions.—Sex history.—Police records.—Institutional records.

In any study of prostitution the first subject for consideration is naturally the prostitute herself. As a commercialized vice the business of prostitution centers about the woman who supplies the human material. In the United States by dictionary definition and by common usage a prostitute is a "woman who practises indiscriminate lewdness for hire." Until 1918 this was also if not a statutory definition at least ordinary legal usage.[1]

In years gone by history, literature, and such influ-

[1] Prior to 1918 there appears to be only one statutory definition of a prostitute, that found in Section 2372, Burn's Statutes, Indiana, 1914. "Any female who frequents or lives in a house or houses of ill-fame or associates with women of bad character for chastity, either in public or at a house which men of bad character frequent or visit, or who commits adultery or fornication for hire, shall be deemed a prostitute."

A study of decisions made up to this time shows that in some cases the element of gain was considered an essential ingredient of prostitution, and that in others this was not the case. Dictionary definitions, whether those of Webster or of Law Dictionaries, are equally confusing. In Webster the definition varies according to the edition.

In 1918 ten states (Conn., Dela., Me., N. H., N. C., N. D., Ohio, R. I., Vt. and Md.) passed laws which included as a definition of prostitution, "The giving or receiving of the body for sexual intercourse for hire, or the giving or receiving of the body for indiscriminate

ences as secrecy and the traditional ignorance of the facts of life on the part of respectable women helped to build up a wall of mystery about the prostitute. She was supposed to be beautiful, charming, intelligent, more capable than the modest but more or less commonplace virtuous woman of arresting and retaining the interest of men.

The modern demand for carrying over into the sociological field the more careful methods of exact science has led to studies which, if they as yet lack scientific precision, at least present a far less romantic and far more sordid picture of the prostitute than that which popular imagination was inclined to paint. Abraham Flexner in studying continental conditions found, for example, that in spite of the glamour that has surrounded the Parisian prostitute, she was on the whole of no higher mentality or of no greater industrial efficiency than our own investigations have shown the American prostitute to possess.[1]

No single study of prostitutes made in this country has been sufficiently broad to include facts relating to more than a specific group in a particular locality. The special surveys which are described in the introduction to this volume were too general in character to furnish detailed descriptive material. In order, therefore, to present the outstanding characteristics of the prostitute in the United States we shall draw freely upon material

sexual intercourse without hire." The causes which led up to this new conception of prostitution as one involving two persons equally guilty will be discussed in a later volume of this series which will treat of the influence of the World War on prostitution.

[1] Flexner's *Prostitution in Europe*, page 67.

furnished by reliable investigations made by various individuals and agencies.

Complete statistics of all the prostitutes in the country at any time are not to be had. This is simply due to the fact that many women cannot be identified as such. There are various classes of prostitutes, which shade from apparent respectability to the well established status of women in open brothels. The term as commonly used includes, besides the professional, the clandestine or secret prostitute, who is known as such only to a small group of acquaintances, as well as the occasional prostitute, who for a time may lapse into venal immorality and then resume her regular life.[1] The "charity girl," who grants her favors in return for entertainment, and the loose married woman who slips once in a while can scarcely be included in either of these categories. Even amongst the professional women there is a rapid shifting in and out of the business, as well as a bewildering movement to and fro, which makes it difficult to count them.

As already indicated, there are various classes or groups of prostitutes. We may distinguish several for our discussion. First, there are the women in open houses and cribs, who are usually well known to the police. Secondly, we find a large group of street walkers who solicit in public places and who usually conduct their business in hotels or rooming houses. Thirdly, the investigator encounters a great number of clandestine and occasional prostitutes who may be engaged in other occupations, or who live at home. The number of these last it is practically impossible to estimate. With this

[1] See Flexner, loc. cit., pages 11, 12.

caution in mind, we may attempt to get some idea of the number of women who have been recognized as prostitutes throughout the country.

Number. During the years 1911-12-13, the Federal Department of Justice undertook an enumeration of women in houses of prostitution, for the purpose of preventing exploitation in the so-called "White Slave Traffic." This registration covered 310 cities, in twenty-six states in the eastern part of the country. These places included forty-five per cent of the population in all cities of over five thousand inhabitants in these states, and may, therefore, be regarded as a fair index of the volume of open commercialized urban prostitution for the country as a whole at that time.

This partial census showed 39,021 entries. Allowing 18.79 per cent for duplication (as found in the first 18 cities), the number is reduced to 31,689 inmates. Applying this figure as an index to the urban population of the country in 1910, we have an estimate of nearly 100,000 women in brothels.

It is unsafe to calculate in the same way for rural communities, where the proportion of prostitutes is probably less. If, in order to include the large number of street walkers and various recognized types of clandestine prostitutes, we double the number estimated as living in brothels, we arrive at the conservative figure of approximately 200,000 women in the regular army of vice. The findings of vice commissions in eight American cities confirm the reasonableness of such an estimate.[1]

[1] In the work of W. W. Sanger, the proportion of prostitutes to the population in seven British cities given is from one to every

The Prostitute

The number of prostitutes in the United States has by other writers been estimated as over 500,000.[1] We are convinced, however, that the method employed in obtaining this enormous number is unsatisfactory,[2] inasmuch as it applies to the total population an index properly applicable to our large urban centers only. This is borne out by an analysis of police records which, when allowance is made for duplication, does not warrant placing the number of professional prostitutes nearly so high as estimates of this kind.

Age. The age of prostitutes usually centers in the early twenties. This is to be expected, because sex functions are then most active. There is, however, a wide range in age, as shown in the last column of the accompanying table.[3]

325 people in Manchester, up to one to every 88 in Liverpool. The median is one to 220, which is not far from the estimate arrived at above. See *History of Prostitution*, edition of 1906, page 342.

[1] See R. N. Wilson, *Transactions of Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography.* Vol. IV, Part I, page 115.

[2] See J. S. Fulton, *Medical Statistics of Sex Hygiene, American Journal of Public Health.* Vol. 3, No. 7, pages 661 and following.

[3] Adapted from Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, edition of 1917, page 225. The ages of street walkers have been taken rather than those of women in parlor houses or in the institutions, for the reason that in the last two groups some method of selection is often employed.

TABLE I

AGES OF STREET WALKERS

Year	First Sex Offense	Entering Prostitution	Present age
6	2	1	..
7	..	..	..
8	2	..	..
9	..	..	..
10	2	..	.

TABLE I—*Continued*

AGES OF STREET WALKERS

Year	First Sex Offense	Entering Prostitution	Present age
11	..	..	..
12	11	..	..
13	3	..	..
14	71	6	..
15	85	26	..
16	167	114	..
17	189	176	1
18	147	223	12
19	94	123	40
20	61	110	66
21	38	72	88
22	29	44	131
23	15	22	137
24	15	30	205
25	15	21	57
26	15	23	98
27	8	11	46
28	5	10	74
29	..	..	44
30	3	2	36
31	..	..	3
32	1	3	15
33	1	1	7
34	..	..	13
35	1	1	8
36	..	..	3
37	1	1	..
38	1	1	2
39	..	..	..
40	..	..	11
41	..	..	..
42	..	..	1
43	..	..	..
44	..	..	3
45	..	..	..
46	..	..	..
47	..	..	..
48	..	..	..
49	..	..	..
50	..	..	2
Not given	124	85	3
Total	1106	1106	1106

Over half the women were under twenty-five, and after that the numbers fall off rapidly. This does not necessarily mean, as has sometimes been supposed, that the women all die within a few years after entering the business, but rather that, as they lose the vigor of youth, they drop out for many reasons. No satisfactory data showing the length of life of prostitutes in America are available, for the simple reason that women are not registered as such when they die. Consequently, one must be content to find the relation between the actual ages of prostitutes and their ages upon entering the business.

The third column of Table I shows that more than half the girls acknowledged beginning outright prostitution before they were nineteen. The average length of their professional careers was therefore about six years. But we have other data to prove that the length of a woman's business life necessarily depends upon her age when found in the occupation. Table II shows this relation for 744 prostitutes formerly registered in Washington.

It will be observed that age and experience increase together. Most of the women were under twenty-six and had prostituted themselves less than five years. At the same time we note several over forty years old, who had been in "sporting life" from ten to twenty-five years. These old cases may seem exceptional, but they serve to establish the point that, though vice attracts youth, it also holds a remnant of age.

It is interesting in this connection to compare the experience of professional prostitutes with that of women

TABLE II

AGE AND EXPERIENCE OF PROSTITUTES

(From the Department of Justice Registration)

Years of Age	Years in Business																												Total
	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
18	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
19	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
20	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
21	8	10	10	7	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
22	14	23	21	23	17	7	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	112
23	5	13	16	29	17	16	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	104
24	5	6	6	20	19	15	11	6	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	97
25	6	5	3	8	9	18	10	5	3	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	71
26	1	..	4	7	9	7	6	7	6	7	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	59
27	5	..	1	2	5	4	3	1	9	3	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
28	1	2	6	2	6	3	9	4	7	5	4	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
29	2	1	2	..	..	1	5	6	4	1	..	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
30	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
31	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	4	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
32	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	3	1	..	4	4	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	222
33	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
34	2	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
35	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	3	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
36	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	8
37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
38	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
39	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
41	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
47	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	55	63	73	105	89	81	61	43	47	27	33	21	12	8	5	4	3	1	4	..	2	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	744

in various unskilled industries. This will show whether or not there is a greater shifting in and out of open vice than is the case in unskilled occupations. For this purpose we may compare the data in Table II with those obtained by the Federal Investigation on Women and Children in Industry.[1] We have here included the correlated ages and experience of 416 women adrift, who were working in department stores and serving as waitresses in hotels and restaurants. These girls most nearly represent the general grade of skill and intelligence from which we might expect prostitutes to be recruited. The accompanying graphs show, in a general way, how the prostitutes and the unskilled workers compare in the length of their business experience.[2] In general there is no great divergence in the trend of the two curves. This fact may serve to confirm the statement that prostitution, as well as unskilled industry, is a temporary occupation, into which women drift for a time and often leave to take up some other manner of life.[3]

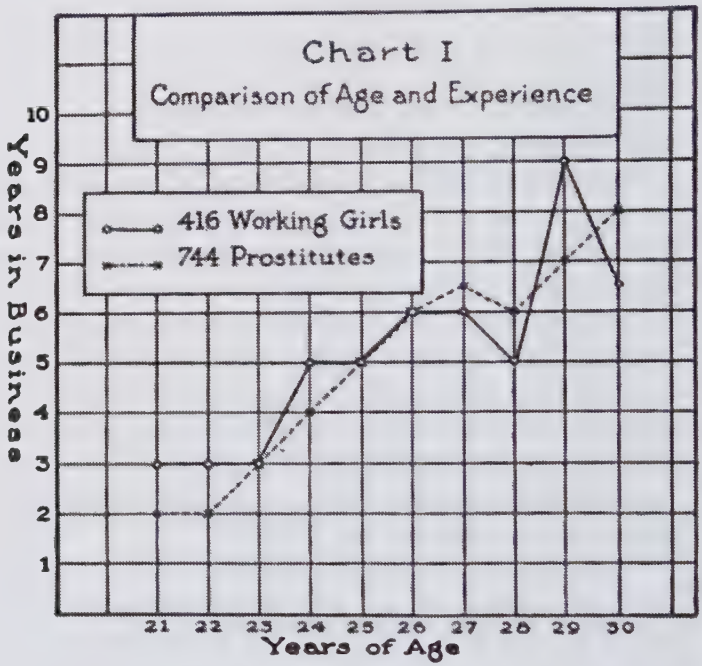
From the preceding tables it may be noted that some of the girls began the life of prostitution at a tender age. But their histories of sexual irregularities date back beyond the time when they came out as professionals. The early corruption of girls seems to be one of the most important undermining forces that lead to an immoral

[1] See *United States Bureau of Labor, Women and Children Wage Earners*, Vol. V.

[2] This has been obtained simply by indicating the median years of experience at each year of age where sufficient data were given.

[3] Kneeland found that 95% of the street cases in New York had practised prostitution continuously, but from 12% to 21% of the institutional cases had only intermittently fallen into it. Loc. cit., pages 219, 238 and 244.

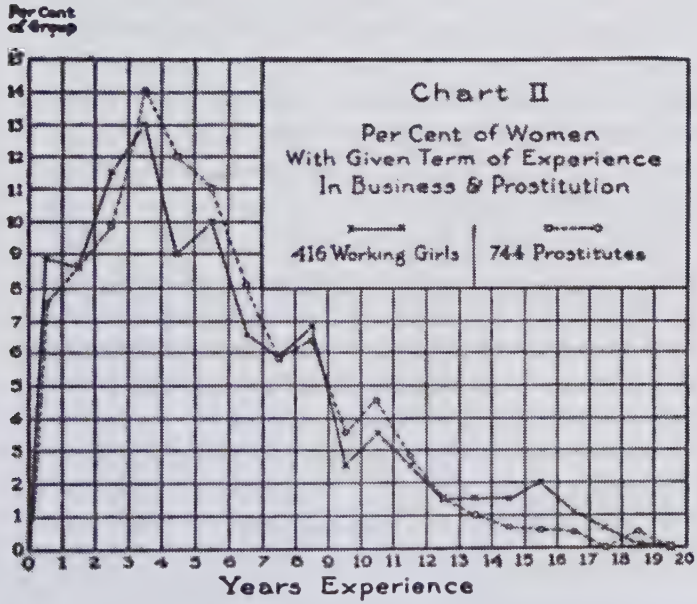
career. In Table I, for example, in the second column, we note that over half the girls confessed to sex offenses between their sixteenth and eighteenth years. This seems



to be the dangerous period, when youth is restless and judgment not yet formed. The typical girl seems to have made her first misstep at the age of seventeen, and about a year later drifted into the business of prostitution.

Race and Nativity. The race and nativity of prostitutes found in the United States differ with the character of the general population living in each locality. On the West Coast, Japanese women were formerly found in

the old districts, but, since the closing of open vice resorts, very few remain, except as servants in rooming houses or tea-gardens. Chinese prostitutes of late years also have been more rigorously excluded by immigration authorities, so that now it is difficult for white men to discover


Per Cent of Group
Chart II
Per Cent of Women
With Given Term of Experience
In Business & Prostitution
416 Working Girls
744 Prostitutes
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
Years Experience

them. Some yellow girls remain in the Chinese quarters, but they are carefully secreted and rapidly moved about, so as to elude the vigilance of the police.

Along the Mexican border, half breed prostitutes were found to be more lax and dangerous than white women. In the Cotton Belt, the authorities complain of the looseness of colored women. Our investigator noted Negro prostitutes in most of the cities visited. In New Orleans,

the police census at the end of 1916 included 291 colored girls in the old vice district, out of a total of 606 women registered.[1] The notable features in the enumeration appeared to be the greater youth and shorter professional experience of Negro prostitutes. Their earlier maturity and disorganized home life may help to explain these facts.

The nativity of prostitutes found in any place will of course depend upon the character of the migration to that center. For instance, in New York City, investigators made the following enumeration of 1,106 street cases:[2]

Born in New York City	255
Born in New York State	89
Born in other States of the Union	418
Total native	762
Foreign born	344

Comparing these numbers with those of native whites, foreign whites and Negroes in the general local population, we have the following proportions:[3]

	Percentage of Population	Percentage of Prostitutes
Native whites	57.3	67.1
Foreign whites	40.4	28.0
Negroes	1.9	4.9

If instead of the proportion of these various elements in the general population, regardless of age or sex, we should consider the proportions of women between fifteen and forty-five years of age, the comparison might be

[1] According to the XIII Census, this was about three times the proportion of unmarried colored women, over fifteen, to white women of the same age in the city, and more than twice their proportion in the East South Central States, from which most of the girls were recruited.

[2] See Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, page 242.

[3] See Kneeland, op. cit., page 251.

more accurate, but the proportions would not be greatly changed.

It appears from this comparison that the native born and Negroes contributed more than their share to the number of prostitutes. It is not fair, however, to consider the local population only, because, as we have already noted, over 80 per cent of the prostitutes came from outside of New York City. Perhaps a fairer test would be to compare the data obtained by the Federal Department of Justice in five representative cities throughout the country. In these places, it was found that 91 out of 500 prostitutes were foreign born, that is a little over 18 per cent. This proportion is higher than that of all foreign-born women in the United States as a whole, but somewhat less than the percentage of all foreign-born women to native women in the cities.[1]

In Mr. Kneeland's New York investigation, the proportion of prostitutes furnished by the various foreign elements appeared to follow roughly their percentages in the general population. The only striking exception in 1912 was the small proportion of Italian prostitutes. This was probably to be explained by the fact that most of the Italians were men.

In Senator Dillingham's Report of the 61st Congress on the Importation of Women for Immoral Purposes,[2] he notices the frequent appearance of French and Russian Hebrew prostitutes in the New York Night Court. In explanation of this he states that: "It seems probable that the percentage of French women who practised pros-

[1] See Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 31.
[2] See 61st Congress, *Senate Document*, No. 196, pages 12-14.

titution before arrival in this country, as compared with their total number, is decidedly larger than the percentage of Hebrews who were engaged in that business before coming. Apparently, the activity of the Jewish procurers and pimps in seducing young girls to turn them into this life in this country is greater than that of the French, whereas the French are somewhat more willing to adopt the bolder, and perhaps on the whole the more profitable plan, of importing women who are already familiar with the life."

In a subsequent chapter upon exploiters it will be shown how the business of cheap commercialized vice in New York City has passed through the hands of several groups of immigrants. In the eighties it was the French "mac" who conducted the business. Later the astute young Russian Jewish immigrant systematized the business and, recently, the Italian and Greek pimp and panderer has appeared.

We must also consider parent nativity, because frequently the atmosphere of a girl's home is determined by the customs of her father and mother. In 1916, Miss Miner found that "of a group of 1,000 prostitutes, only one-fifth had been born in America of American parents. Over three-fifths were of foreign parentage; the rest had one native and one foreign parent, or were ignorant of the birthplace of their parents." [1] In 1910, almost one-fifth (19 per cent) of the total population of New York was native white of native parentage. We cannot, therefore, point to any striking contrast of percentages in parentage amongst foreign and native prostitutes. We

[1] See Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 31.

are inclined to believe, however, from general statistics concerning crime, that the young foreign girl, and the native-born child of elderly foreign parents, has a harder time to find the proper lines of development in this country than girls from native families.

Most of the foreign-born women who have entered prostitution in this country appear to have done so after a short period of residence. The Dillingham Report of 1909[1] states that most of the women denied recent arrival, because this would have subjected them to deportation. Of eighty-nine foreign women registered in five cities by the Department of Justice, only three admitted having been engaged in prostitution before coming to this country. It is, however, probable that others who came to this country had already entered the life at home. An investigation conducted by the National Civic Federation found that fifty immigrant girls arrested for wrong doing had been in this country from ten months to six years. It appears that most of these girls were lured into wrong doing before familiarity with American ways enabled them to safeguard themselves.

This lack of familiarity with local customs applies not merely to foreigners, but also to those who were born outside of the city. In considering 491 American-born prostitutes in the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, it was found that 82½ per cent were urban by birth, and 17½ per cent country-born. This proportion unquestionably shows a predominance of city girls. At the same time it must be remembered that we are here dealing with an institution fed, for the most part, by

[1] Loc. cit., pages 38 and 39.

New York cases. But New York in turn is fed by the whole country and by Europe.

Not only is the urban population a shifting one, but urban prostitutes are notoriously peripatetic. In the 39,000 entries made by the Department of Justice, there were noted 27,166 interstate moves prior to the date of enumeration, 44,544 subsequent moves not interstate, 11,299 interstate moves and 22,773 moves to unknown destination. In other words, among less than 32,000 women, there were nearly 90,000 changes of address in less than three years. The typical women had practised prostitution in more than one state, some in as many as six commonwealths. Accordingly, attributing the source of supply to any one country or section of the country is a most difficult task, if not an impossible one, with the data now in hand.

Marriage. Concerning the civil status of prostitutes, the following data will illustrate conditions in this country:

TABLE III

CIVIL STATUS OF PROSTITUTES AND OTHER WOMEN[1]

	Prostitutes in Philadelphia Institutions		Percentage of women 15-45 in urban population
Status	Number	Percentage	
Single	642	74.5	41.5
Married	193	22.4	54.2
Separated	3	.3	.7
Widowed	23	2.7	3.7
Total	861	100%	100%

It will be seen from the above table that the proportion of single women among prostitutes is far in excess of

[1] From Mr. Kneeland's data.

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the percentage of single women of the same age group among the general urban population. It is obvious that women who engage in prostitution run less chance of marriage than do other women. At the same time, it will be seen that over 22 per cent of these girls were married at the time of the enumeration and, in many instances, they were carrying on the business of prostitution with the knowledge of their husband, and sometimes with his encouragement. In fact, one of the devices used by procurers has been to go through the form of marriage with a young girl, and then oblige her to earn money by the prostitution of her body. It should also be added that the status of women claiming to be married is not in all cases clear. In certain quarters a plain gold ring is a kind of open sesame, giving a presumption of "respectability" to the woman.

Children. From the records of Bedford Reformatory, we have the following data quoted by Kneeland:[1]

PROSTITUTES' CHILDREN

	No. of Women
Miscarriages before entering	36
Pregnant on entering	17
133 legitimate children	93
83 illegitimate "	73
Total with children	219
Women without "	428
Total women	647

It appears from this table that about one-third of the women had children. Of the married women sixty-six had had only one child, but one had had eight. The

[1] Loc. cit., page 214.

number of illegitimate children was of course less, because as a general thing the unmarried women were younger, and in many cases had avoided bearing offspring. The Moral Efficiency Commission of Pittsburgh reports that, out of 558 prostitutes in that city, 406 had never had any children. Of the 152 who had, there was in most cases but one child living. The report adds: "The sentimental delusion that many women entered upon prostitution after betrayal, in order to provide for their child, is almost utterly unfounded." [1] Such cases may of course be cited. We know also of instances where prostitutes have adopted and supported children. But, in general, it must be said that rearing children is not in harmony with the business of prostitution. Most authorities are now inclined to believe that the mother's care for her child, even though it be illegitimate, is one of the strongest forces to conserve her against promiscuity.

Physical Condition. In her book on *The Mentality of the Criminal Woman,* Dr. Weidensall states, as a result of the measurements of one thousand women consecutively committed to the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, as compared with one thousand students examined at both Mt. Holyoke College and Cornell University, that the typical female delinquent is shorter and heavier than other women of her age.[2] The measurement of 172 registered women in New Orleans by the Department of Justice shows that their median height is five feet four inches and their median

[1] See *Report of Morals Efficiency Commission*, page 32.
[2] See pages 253 and following.

weight 140 pounds. It must be remembered that stature depends upon race and age, and that weight is also determined by height. Nevertheless, these figures may indicate that the ordinary professional prostitute appears to be a short, stocky woman. This statement accords with the impression of the writer in his observation of some hundreds of women throughout the country.

Regarding the health of the women, a careful study of 111 prostitutes made by Dr. Bingham, of the New York Probation and Protective Association, shows the following disabilities:

TABLE IV

PHYSICAL DISABILITIES OF PROSTITUTES

Disabilities	No. Cases		Per Cent
Physical debility	13		11.7
Syphilis	34	+ 1 doubtful	30.6
Gonorrhea	45	+ 2 "	40.5
Both	15	+ 3 "	13.5
Tuberculosis	8		7.2
Heart Lesions	9		8.1
Anæmia	13		11.7
Constipation	12		10.8
Defective vision	20		18.
" hearing	1		.9
Unhealthy tonsils	28		25.2
Spinal curvature	7		6.3
Goitre	9		8.1

It will be observed that tuberculosis, unhealthy tonsils and defective vision were very frequent in this group.

The results of a study made by Dr. Alberta S. Guibord at the Laboratory of Social Hygiene, Bedford Hills, in which a very complete physical examination of two hundred delinquent women was made, shows that only 13½ per cent were free from a taint of venereal disease, as shown by blood tests, and that the group was character-

ized by a high degree of physical defectiveness of all kinds. A very large proportion of these women were professional prostitutes or irregular in their sex relations.[1]

Undoubtedly the most prevalent diseases among prostitutes are syphilis and gonorrhea, but there are no accurate figures on which to estimate the exact percentages of the total group so afflicted. Studies made of special groups, of differing ages and conditions at different times and places, differ greatly as to results. This is at least partially due to the fact that the tests were made in different laboratories. The earlier tests, which appear to give the highest percentages, may have been made with a less developed technique. We speak therefore with reservations when we cite results of special studies. This is particularly true in statements as to gonorrhea. Results of five of the earlier studies of adult women are shown in the table on page 55.

Dr. Ball found positive Wassermann reactions among 74 per cent of active prostitutes investigated in San Francisco. It will be noted that in the group studied by Dr. Bingham syphilis and gonorrhea were found among more than 70 per cent of these younger sex offenders.

From all available data, perhaps 60 to 75 per cent is a reasonable estimate for venereal infection among prostitutes of all classes.[2] Such figures indicate that the great majority of prostitutes are a constant menace as a

[1] Alberta S. Guibord. *"Physical States of Criminal Women."* *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology,* May 1, 1917.

[2] See Vedder, *Syphilis and Public Health,* page 96.

TABLE V

PROPORTION OF PROSTITUTES DISEASED

Place	Cases Observed	Per-centage Syphilis	Per-centage Gonorrhea	Per-centage Both	Per-centage Diseased
[1] Baltimore	300	63.	92.	48.	96.
[2] Bedford Hills	466	54.4	78.2	36.4	89.3
[3] Detroit	989	63.5	52.8	....	....
[4] Framingham	243	65.5	98.2	....	....
[5] Workhouse, N. Y. City	2,447	60.5	....	....	72.

source of contamination for persons who consort with them. In his study of venereal prophylaxis in the Navy, Dr. Charles E. Riggs has shown that commercialized prostitution was responsible for 84 per cent of infections in the Navy.[6]

It is well known that seasoned prostitutes know how to detect signs of disease in their visitors and try to avoid contamination. In this respect they are generally supposed to be more careful than inexperienced women and more consistently to employ methods for safeguard-

[1] *Vice Report*, pages 105-111. (Not all cases were tested for both diseases.)

[2] Kneeland, loc. cit., page 189.

[3] *Diagnostic Clinic Records*, 1916-1917.

[4] *Journal of the American Medical Association*, January 8, 1916, pages 95-102. In an earlier study it was shown that 99½ per cent of the women in the Massachusetts State Reformatory for Women at Framingham, Mass., were suffering from venereal disease. Dr. Edith Spaulding, *"Mental and Physical Factors in Prostitution," Women's Medical Journal*, July, 1914.

[5] Report of examination of women sentenced to the workhouse between June 9, 1914, and February 10, 1915. Not all of those examined were convicted of offenses connected with prostitution, as drunk and disorderly cases are also sent to the workhouse. An analysis of 1,622 cases of which special records were kept showed that of 659 convicted for prostitution, 76 per cent had one or both of these diseases, while of 963 convicted of other offenses, 67 per cent had one or both.

[6] See *Social Hygiene*, July, 1917, page 310.

ing their health. It is consequently claimed that women in open resorts keep themselves clean as a matter of business and do not transmit venereal infection as frequently as clandestine and occasional prostitutes who roam outside the district. Regarding the health of the latter classes we cannot present adequate data, but concerning the habits of the women in districts, several statements may be made upon the basis of observations made in open towns visited.

Prostitutes as a class are addicted to the use of liquor and narcotics. Stimulants and sedatives help them endure the strain of their unpleasant business. During an evening many drinks are taken. The natural result of this is to make a woman careless. The assumption that any person when intoxicated is able to conduct an adequate medical examination is absurd. It is not uncommon for a patron to take advantage of such circumstances. Many women do take chances and experience the natural results of their recklessness.

Practically all prostitutes use douches and antiseptic washes. But statements made by many women to the investigator, whom they regarded as a medical officer, revealed the fact that they do not employ these means very frequently. Several said such practice was "weakening," "irritating," or "troublesome." The greater number appeared to regard hygienic precautions in the same way as a daily bath or toilet, desirable, but not imperative. Naturally, such details differ with individuals and establishments. But when we consider the frequent visits made during a busy evening in popular re-

sorts, it becomes clear that an occasional or daily cleansing is an insufficient safeguard.

Concerning the habits of prostitutes, we also have definite information regarding the use of alcohol, drugs and tobacco in certain groups. Dr. Bingham's study of the younger group shows that 31 per cent used liquor, 61 per cent smoked and 2 per cent used drugs. This latter proportion is small, because of the character of the girls. The medical records of Bedford Reformatory showed the following facts:[1]

TABLE VI

HABITS OF PROSTITUTES

Excessive use of alcohol	45	
" " " drugs	23	
" " " cigarettes	7	
" " " alcohol and cigarettes	18	
" " " alcohol and drugs	8	
" " " drugs and cigarettes	5	
" " " alcohol, drugs and cigarettes	6	
Total	112	17.3%
Not suffering at entrance from effects of above	535	82.6%
	647	

The causes of death of prostitutes were obtained from the madams of former houses in Baltimore. Their statements show that tuberculosis, alcoholism, syphilis and paralysis accounted for the death of more than 50 girls known to them. Perhaps so much is sufficient to indicate the physical disabilities under which these women conduct their business.

[1] Kneeland, loc. cit., page 186.

Mentality. "The prostitute, as we know her in courts and prisons, is often lazy, weak-willed, stubborn, fond of ease and excitement, depressed or hysterical, with impaired physical and mental ability." [1] Mentally she appears to be inferior to other women of her age and general status. The Massachusetts White Slave Commission reported that, out of three hundred prostitutes examined in institutions, 51 per cent were feeble-minded, 3 per cent were insane and only 45 per cent were normal. But of these 135 women rated as normal, 124 had the mentality of children from 9 to 12 years of age, as measured by the Binet scale.[2]

There is one general criticism which has been offered upon such statements regarding the frequency of feeble-mindedness among delinquents. That is the fact that there has been a process of elimination before the persons examined have come into the hands of the investigators. In other words, it is only those prostitutes who have been so unsuccessful as to be apprehended by the police who can thus be tested. The others presumably were adroit enough to escape detection or to elude the police. Unquestionably, many of these women are shrewd and clever. Nevertheless, it may be stated that the girl who goes in for prostitution is usually not one adapted to make her way in a more skilful and lucrative occupation.

Turning to various types of investigation, we note the following table from Dr. Bingham's study before mentioned:

[1] See Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 42.
[2] See report pages 21-30.

TABLE VII

MENTAL DEFECTS OF PROSTITUTES

	No. of cases	Per cent
Feeble-minded	29	26.1
Subnormal	10	9.
Psychoses	7	6.3
Psycho-neuroses	11	9.9
Constitutional psychic inferior	21	18.9
Epilepsy (uncomplicated)	4	3.6
Traits, etc.	29	26.1
	111	99.9%

Here we have to do with young or beginning prostitutes who were carefully tested in an institution.[1] Dr. Weidensall's study of women in the Bedford Reformatory led to the conclusion that about one-third of the delinquent women tested there were below the mental stature of the average working girl of 15.[2] In reviewing the cases examined at Framingham, Dr. Spaulding states that of the 243 cases of prostitutes examined there, 49 per cent were subnormal, 16 per cent were dull, and of the remainder, more than half showed mental and nervous defects. Only 16 per cent of the whole number appeared to be normal mentally and physically.[3] In

[1] A study of young women in prostitution shows that mental deficiency is an important factor in delinquency. Thirty-four per cent or approximately ⅓ of 577 delinquent young women at Waverly House were so retarded in mental development as to be considered feebleminded, and others were mentally retarded enough to need protection and oversight." Miner, *The Slavery of Prostitution*, page 43.

[2] Loc. cit., page 268.

[3] Of another sort was the investigation of the Virginia State Board of Charities and Corrections, which found that, 35% of the prostitutes in Richmond were imbeciles, 48% were morons, while only 17% were normal. See Clark, *"Prostitution and Mental Deficiency," Social Hygiene*, April, 1915, pages 364 *ff*. See *"Mental and Physical Factors in Prostitution," Women's Medical Journal*, July, 1914.

short we may say that, of prostitutes studied in institutions, approximately one-third appear to be below par mentally.

Family History. It is a well known fact that feeble-mindedness is hereditary. Consequently, some of the mental anomalies shown by prostitutes can be directly traced to weakness in the stock from which they come. Among the 647 cases studied at Bedford, 20 per cent showed traces of degenerate strains.[1] The frequency of alcoholism, tubercular tendencies, insanity and sex offenses, shows the physical and mental weakness of these stocks. In 247 of the 1,000 families considered by Miss Miner some actively vicious element or clearly recognized degenerate strain was known to be present. It is likely that a more complete investigation would have revealed an even larger number.[2]

Not only is the biological inheritance of many of these girls poor, but their home life has been most unsatisfactory and not seldom positively vicious. Dr. Bingham's study shows that in 45 per cent of the cases, one or the other parent was dead. This usually means lack of proper support or discipline. In nearly 30 per cent of the cases there was little oversight, and in 20 per cent unhappy homes were discovered. That neglect or unpleasantness in the girl's home frequently drives her to the street and into the arms of undesirable companions cannot be denied. Many pathetic stories are told of unhappy girls turned adrift or forced to find in doubtful quarters that joy of life which youth craves.

[1] Kneeland, loc. cit., page 173.
[2] Miner, loc. cit., pages 43-45.

Sometimes the size of the family is a reason for discontented homes. Kneeland found from the study of the 647 Bedford cases, that the average number of children in the families was four. In most cases it was only three, but in a few it was ten or more.[1] Unquestionably, a large number of children prevents parents from giving the proper attention to each one, but this lack of attention in families irrespective of size is what appears to be the significant factor.

More significant than the mere question of numbers appears to be a lack of means to support the family and a lack of leisure to control it. In most of the cases studied the parents were rather simple working people. In about one-fifth of the instances the mothers were engaged in gainful occupations. This indicates that the resources of the family were often slender and that the influence of the mother was withdrawn from her children.[2] While it cannot be said that all prostitutes were poor girls, it is very near the truth to assert that most of them came from poor homes.[3] This is borne out by the results of a study made by the Laboratory of Social Hygiene in 1915-1916 of six groups of delinquent women in New York State. Of these, 66.2 per cent were prostitutes and a further 17.8 per cent sexually irregular, though not for money. A very high percentage of both prostitutes and other delinquents came from homes whose economic status and moral standards were very poor.[4]

[1] Loc. cit., page 207.
[2] *Ibid.*, pages 205-208.
[3] See *Report of Morals Efficiency Commission*, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1913, page 32.
[4] *A Study of Delinquent Women in New York State*, pages 209-212-214.

Education. The education of prostitutes reflects in an interesting way both their personal limitations and the status of the family from which they are derived. Of nearly 11,000 street cases investigated in New York, about 12 per cent were illiterate and less than 5 per cent had graduated from a grammar school.[1] The same general facts have been repeatedly found in various investigations. The girls do not finish their education, most frequently leaving school at the age of 12 to 14 and going to work. Occasionally one finds a woman of superior or technical education, but such cases are extremely rare. In general it may be said that mental indifference or the force of circumstances led most of these girls to discontinue their schooling. Consequently they drift into any unskilled occupation which may offer an easy way to make money without requiring any special aptitude or training.

Occupations. The same general tendency toward mental indifference is shown by data concerning present or previous occupations of the women investigated. The majority of them have been unskilled hand or head workers. Such lines as factory work, domestic service and store clerkship predominate. Many of the girls were without regular occupation. The following excerpt, based upon the girls' own assertions, may serve to illustrate their transition from one line to another after they had adopted prostitution as their principal means of support.[2]

[1] Kneeland, loc. cit., page 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 257.

TABLE VIII

OCCUPATIONS OF STREET WALKERS

	Before entering Prostitution	After entering Prostitution
Artist	4	4
Artists' model	2	3
Canvasser	5	4
Chambermaid	9	1
Clerk in small store	28	16
Companion	1	1
Department store	117	68
Errand girl	1	..
Factory	72	21
Domestic Service	27	20
Laundry	2	..
Librarian	1	..
Manicure	6	4
Massage	2	2
Millinery	13	2
Nurse girl	8	1
Office work	25	18
Palmist	2	2
Sewing	17	5
Stenographer	31	27
Storekeeper	1	2
Teacher	9	6
Telephone operator	9	5
Theatrical work	72	88
Trained nurse	4	3
Translator	1	1
Waitress	18	8
No work	518	..
Unknown	101	33
Supported by prostitution only	...	677
Supported by husband or family	...	83
Stealing	...	1
	1106	1106

In the last column it is pretty clear that the work may be merely an excuse for clandestine prostitution. It should also be said that many of the girls who alleged that their previous or last occupation was domestic serv-

ice or departmental store work proved to be really incompetent to continue such lines and showed little ability to succeed in them.

A striking result of most of the investigations is the fact that many women have been engaged in domestic service before entering prostitution. This is frequently regarded as a sign that the moral conditions surrounding domestics are unsatisfactory. It may be admitted that loneliness, poor living quarters and undue familiarity with members of the household may lead young women to go wrong. At the same time, it should be observed that domestic service is for women what unskilled labor is for men, so that when a prostitute without regular employment is asked what she has done or can do she frequently replies that it is housework, which may mean that she has had no regular skilled occupation.

Earnings. The investigations of minimum wage commissions in various States of the Union have shown that in the low paid trades considered the average girl received from five to seven dollars a week.[1] This amount does not differ greatly from the average for all women workers in the United States, as given by the Federal returns in 1900.[2] It has been shown conclusively that an independent working woman in cities of the North and East required at least from eight to ten dollars, before the war, to maintain herself in reasonable health and comfort. The earning of girls who have turned to prostitution must therefore be considered in the light of these findings. We may say in general that

[1] *New York State Factory Commission, Wage Investigation, 1914,* Vol. 1, pages 34 and 35.
[2] Bul. 93, *Federal Census of Manufacturers.*

earnings of unskilled workers who turned to prostitution had not been very different from the average of working girls. Nevertheless, we must realize that the lack of resources has been one great difficulty which some women have not been able to overcome, and so the weaker sisters choose what seemed to be an easier way of making money.

Various investigations conducted in the United States show the wages of women before entering prostitution to range from nothing at all to $200 a week, in the case of singers and actresses, but the ordinary girl was able to earn only about six or seven dollars a week. The long cheerless prospect of a hall bedroom, poor lunches, black sateen waists and no amusements has probably had more effect in turning these girls away from the monotony of routine factory and store occupations than actual need.

If now we turn to earnings of women in prostitution, we find that thirty to fifty dollars a week is an ordinary return. Some women earn as high as $200, a few as little as $10 or $15. The Chicago Vice Report gives $70 as the average profit for 21 inmates of a representative dollar house.[1] The Syracuse report[2] gives $83.30 as an average weekly return for an inmate of a dollar house, based upon her returns for a period of six months. Obviously, these amounts will vary with the type of girl and the character of the resort, but so much is sufficient to show that in prostitution an ordinary woman can realize almost as much in one night as her meager abilities would enable her to earn in a week. This, apparently,

[1] See Report, page 29.
[2] See Report, page 101.

together with the attraction of gay company, bright lights, pretty clothes, may account for the willingness of some of the women to enter a life which would ordinarily appear most repulsive.

Some of the women combine routine occupations during the day and follow prostitution as a side line. The accompanying table indicates the returns from both sources of income and furnishes a valuable comparison.

TABLE IX

COMPARISON OF WEEKLY EARNINGS IN PROSTITUTION AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS[1]

Earnings from Prostitution	Earnings in other Occupations																			Totals
	0	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	75	
$10.00			1				1															1
15.00	1		1																			2
20.00		1	1	2																		4
25.00				3		1	1			1					1							6
30.00		1	1		1		1			1												5
35.00					2												1					3
40.00		2			2		5			1												10
45.00														1								1
50.00		1	1							1					2		1					6
55.00																						
60.00																						
65.00																						
70.00													1									1
75.00																						
80.00																						
85.00																						
90.00																						
95.00															1		1			1	1	4
100.00																						
105.00																						
110.00																						
115.00																						
120.00																						
125.00																						
130.00																						
135.00																						
140.00																						
145.00																						
150.00															1		1			—		2
	1	5	4	4	5	1	8			4			1		6		4			1	1	45

Average Earnings:
In Prostitution..... $45.44
In other Occupations..... $14.48

[1] *Social Evil Conditions in Newark*, page 164.

It is clear that the more lucrative occupation has a tendency to lure young women from the routine tasks which are so poorly paid. Consequently they may not exert themselves to secure promotion in such lines.

It has frequently been shown that a prostitute is subject to considerable deductions from her earnings and has frequently paid board ranging from ten to twenty dollars a week. The account of one of these women in Syracuse shows her total earnings for six months to have been $1,962.50, her share of which was 908.75, from which were deducted her expenses of $844.24 which, with a debt of $96 owed to the madam, left her with a deficit of $31.49 at the end of the time.[1]

Such women were charged excessive amounts for board, clothing and service. In the old resorts the madams encouraged dealers to sell goods in the house, for which the girls often paid more than double. If the woman resided in an apartment of her own, or in a furnished room, she was frequently obliged to give more than the ordinary rent for the accommodation, in order to satisfy the landlord or his agent. Hotel servants and lodging housekeepers not seldom levied tribute upon such inmates, so that, while the immediate returns were high, the woman was frequently obliged to pay all that she had in order to keep up appearances and avoid trouble with the proprietor or his agents. Despite such extortionate demands, the thrifty woman frequently earned considerable sums of money.

[1] See *Syracuse Vice Report*, page 101.

The disposition of prostitutes' earnings may be indicated by the following table:[1]

For herself in	216	cases
" lover in	147	"
" parents or children in	45	"
" husband in	31	"
Total	439	"

It will be seen from this statement that the majority spend the money upon themselves or give it to a man who exploits them. Apparently few give their returns to members of their families.

Living Conditions. A girl's surroundings unquestionably influence her conduct. Poor homes or none seem to have fallen to the lot of many prostitutes. In institutions about New York, 242 women were living at home before they went into the life, 124 were boarding, 46 stayed with relatives, and 26 domestics lived where they worked.[2] Of the 1,072 cases brought before the Chicago Morals Court in 1916, 735 were living alone, 177 were with their husbands, 84 were staying with relatives and 76 lived with parents.[3] In this latter group of confirmed cases, the independent lodging appears more prominently. Apparently, the furnished room, with its detachment and loneliness, was a factor in the business, both as a cause and sometimes as an effect of wrong living.

Bad companions also play an important part in delinquency, especially in the case of young girls whose habits are not well formed. In Dr. Bingham's study, it was

[1] See Kneeland, loc. cit., page 240.
[2] *Ibid.*, pages 213 and 237.
[3] Data furnished by court.

found that this factor appeared in nearly 83 per cent of the cases. Amusements, too, especially in company with vicious companions, have often an evil influence. Some of the girls attributed their downfall specifically to the excitement of low dance halls and suggestive moving pictures, where sexual desire is stimulated and opportunities for familiarities exist. Perhaps the strongest impression, derived from interviews on this matter, is the lack of resource on the part of the woman to amuse herself. Practically none of them cared for active recreation, but preferred the passive enjoyment furnished to them by their escorts.

Sex History. From the observation of over 2,700 cases, Mr. Kneeland found that in more than half the number the first sexual offense was committed between the fifteenth and nineteenth years. The age most frequently given was sixteen. This confirms the results of the other investigations and shows that the most dangerous period of a girl's life is in her later adolescence, when her emotions have outstripped the development of her judgment.

Concerning the partner of the first offense, Mr. Kneeland's examination of over one thousand cases show the following results:

Partner	Number of cases
Stranger	420
Lover	243
Friend	208
Relative	90
Playmate	71
Acquaintance	28
Employer or Teacher	8
Total	1068

It will be observed from this tabulation that frequently the partner was a stranger. This may appear incredible until one listens to the stories of the girls who describe the impression made by a visitor, with an appearance perhaps more distinguished than that of boys of the locality. To this one must add a certain irresponsibility on the part of the outsider, who may soon go away and leave no embarrassing means of identification behind.

Seduction by lover or friend is perhaps the most usual story told. Corruption by relatives is a more unpleasant history. The records from which these data are derived indicated that in a number of cases it was the father or stepfather who ruined the girl. Such instances, as well as childish experiments conducted with playmates, take the beginning of loose sexual habits back to the fourth or the fifth year of life. With such early beginnings it is perhaps more easily explained why some of the women appear to have no sense of shame concerning their career.

The places or circumstances under which the first sexual offense occurred are also enlightening. The Kansas City Survey of 1911 presents the following list:[1]

Circumstances	Number of cases
Drinking	26
Dancing	24
Park	17
Carriage	14
School	11
Late Supper	10
	102

[1] *Social Survey, Kansas City*, pages 6 and 7.

It is scarcely necessary to comment upon this list. The excitement of drink and dancing, the seclusion of country roads and quiet rooms, are unquestionably dangerous for young girls.

The reasons alleged by 1,600 girls for their first misstep in sexual matters are also interesting. From Kneeland's investigation in New York City, we gather the following data:[1]

CAUSE OF FIRST SEXUAL OFFENSE

Cause Alleged	Percentage of Total
Love	48%
Pay	27.8%
Force	11.4%
Physical Predisposition	7.8%
Moral Weakness	5.1%

Miss Miner observed[2] that seduction is by far the most usual method of leading a young girl into wrong doing. Force does not seem to be so frequently employed as has sometimes been assumed. The motive of economic gain is not frequent with girls. It does appear more often in the case of older, and especially of married women, who by stepping over the line may gain for themselves certain things which their husbands cannot afford or who, having been separated from their husbands, seek both satisfaction and support in this way.

After the first barrier of reserve has been broken down, repeated or promiscuous relations become easier. In order that such conduct may be followed without constant reproach from parents, relatives or neighbors, the girl frequently leaves home. The second step toward

[1] Loc. cit., pages 224, 238 and 248.
[2] See *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 48.

prostitution is often this severing of domestic ties, in order to seek in the city freedom from restraint, profitable employment and the enjoyment which youth craves. We find also that some girls who have been left in a strange city without a position, or who, having been brought there are deserted by a lover, drift into prostitution as the most obvious way of getting along.

The reasons given by prostitutes for their entrance into the life are not necessarily the real causes, but they indicate the motives in the mind of the woman at the time, or her subsequent explanation of her conduct. In Mr. Kneeland's investigation, personal reasons, such as love, excitement, bad company and desire for easy money were most frequently mentioned. Following this class of motives were family reasons, such as broken, disorderly and cheerless homes. The next influences were reasons in connection with married life, such as cruelty, unfaithfulness or abandonment by a husband. Economic motives were mentioned less often than the others. In many cases it was the desire to support one's self or relatives which pushed the girls into such a career. Very seldom were low wages or actual poverty alleged, even by the girls themselves. Such results are confirmed by the findings of Miss Miner, who presents the summary on the following page.[1]

The reasons for remaining in the life appear to be more frankly mercenary. Prostitution seems the easiest way to make money, after the woman has overcome her repugnance to it. Apparently, most of the women interviewed intend to continue, so long as they can support

[1] Loc. cit., pages 39 and 40.

REASONS FOR ENTERING PROSTITUTION

Reasons	Number of cases	Percentage of total
Influenced by procurors	256	25.6%
Bad home conditions	210	21.0%
Bad company and amusements	187	18.7%
Personal reasons (desertion, love of finery, excitement, etc.)	177	17.7%
Economic or occupational factors (lack of work, need of money, etc.)	170	17.0%
	1000	100.0%

themselves in this fashion. Probably they also feel the difficulty of entering any other lines, both because of their lack of training and of the prejudice against them. They also acquire certain habits of idleness and luxury which are not possible for an active low-paid employee in business. While many express their desire to get out of the business some time and lead a respectable life, the majority seem to feel that, having begun the business, they may as well stick to it so long as their financial returns are satisfactory.

Police Records. Formerly, when the police tolerated districts or open houses, many of the women were well known to them but were seldom arrested, save for some open or flagrant infraction of the law. When such open resorts were closed, however, such women were subject to arrest whenever an officer could show that they were conducting the business of prostitution. Many of them were arrested repeatedly and, under the old system of fines and short term imprisonment, soon reappeared, to recoup themselves for their losses. For instance, the finger-print records taken by the Night Court for women in New York City show that between September, 1910,

and January, 1916, seven women were finger-printed fifteen times; eighteen, fourteen times, etc.[1] On the other hand, those girls who were clever enough to avoid suspicion or open offenses frequently escaped detection altogether. For example, out of sixty-five girls in Hartford, fifty had not come into contact with the law during the time they had practised prostitution.[2]

The charges upon which the women were apprehended are numerous, so that it is difficult to identify all the cases of prostitution. Street walking, disorderly conduct, visiting disorderly places, vagrancy, and many other charges are included. In some jurisdictions more than half the cases were released. For instance, the Cleveland Police Records for 1913 show that out of 2,700 persons arrested on charges of immorality less than 1,200 were held for court. The Annual Reports for 1914 of the City Magistrate's Courts and the District Attorney's Office of New York County show that 3,164 persons were arrested in 1914 for participating in offenses connected with prostitution. Of this number over 3,000 were women, of whom 1,292 had been convicted at least once previously. Of the total number arrested, 2,578 were convicted, and of the 2,521 women convicted, 2,070 were sentenced to the workhouse for terms ranging from one day to six months. Only 285 women were sent to reformatories, the reason being that space was not available for more than that number.[3]

Of the number convicted, even the more severe judges

[1] See Miner, loc. cit., page 199.
[2] See Hartford, *Vice Commission Report*, page 50.
[3] *Social Hygiene*, page 283, April, 1916.

sentenced them for only short terms in the workhouses. Such short confinement with other abandoned women frequently had a most demoralizing effect upon the younger offenders. Some of them learned more about the business during their short association with hardened women of the street than they could have picked up in any other way.

Institutional Records. Even those women who were sent to institutions of a reformatory character show that such treatment is not always successful.[1] Dr. Bingham's study shows that 55 per cent of the girls investigated by her had been inmates of such reformatories once or more. One is led to believe from such reports that the old method of handling prostitutes has not tended to reform them, but rather to confirm them in their habits of wrong doing, by association with others of their kind.

Concerning the results of probation for younger women, Miss Miner states that from 124 subsequent examinations, forty were living honest moral lives, four had died, two were insane, one had been deported, ten had returned to a life of immorality, twenty-three were doubtful, and forty-four could not be traced. The four who had died were reported to have been leading moral lives up to the time of death.[2]

These returns concerning younger women bring up a question that is often asked. "What becomes of old prostitutes?" The subsequent histories of 256 women

[1] See also Chapter X, page 260.
[2] Loc. cit., page 219.

who left open prostitution are given in the Baltimore Report [1] as follows:

56 not found,
43 returned to prostitution,
15 probably clandestines,
20 lived with men,
43 left town,
26 married,
15 in business,
16 working regularly,
7 dead,
5 with relatives,
5 no data,
5 uncertain.

256

It seems probable from this exhibit that women who have become confirmed prostitutes tend to remain such. Of those who were questioned before the old district in Norfolk was abolished, 71 out of 120 said they would not accept employment, 59 out of 107 preferred to go home rather than to work. Out of 54 cases, only six stated that they needed assistance, and such requests were for small sums to go to another town. The committees appointed to provide refuge homes and employment exchanges for girls in districts which were to be closed, report almost unanimously that the confirmed prostitute does not avail herself of such agencies, but moves on to take up her work elsewhere.

[1] Pages 181-183.

CHAPTER III

PATRONS AND EXPLOITERS

Patrons, their numbers; reasons for association.—Panderers and procurers.—Owners of houses and resorts.—Madams.—Runners.—Influence of liquor dealers.

In considering the business of prostitution, it is not merely the supply of women that must be considered, but also the ever active demand for them. This is not only an expression of the natural desire of the male for the female, but is also an artificially stimulated demand fostered by interested third parties. Therefore we have to learn something not only of the patron who without other prompting than his own desire consorts with prostitutes, but also of those whose special aim it is, for purely mercenary reasons, to foster and increase the demand. These latter are the owners of houses of prostitution, pimps, madams, and others who profit by the business. The relation of each of these to the problem of prostitution will receive some attention.

Patrons. Investigators familiar with conditions in the field have estimated that, for every woman engaged in prostitution, there are from ten to fifteen male patrons daily.[1] This calculation is based upon the daily experience of women in Chicago and Syracuse under the for-

[1] See Kneeland, loc. cit., page 111.

mer policy of open towns. The estimate is unquestionably too low for some of the cheap houses where, on a busy day, a woman might serve from forty to fifty men.[1] On the other hand, it is much too high for other places, where four or five visitors a day was the rule.[2] But the figures given may indicate the enormous patronage that supports the business. For instance, taking ten visitors as a conservative estimate and applying this figure to the 15,000 professional prostitutes of Manhattan in 1912, Kneeland calculated that the customers totaled 150,000 daily.[3]

These men are of all kinds. Young and old, rich and poor, married and single,—they have all learned the way to the open door of the Scarlet Woman. From stories of the women themselves, and statements of their customers, it appears that a small group of these men are regular patrons. The majority, however, are those who from time to time are accustomed to seek diversion in this manner.

Rough workingmen patronized the cribs and picked up girls on the corners; older and more fastidious patrons visited high-priced houses; while those men who are extremely careful about their escapades had recourse to the call house, where they might secure women of more respectable appearance without great risk of exposure. In university towns, the students supplied a part of the patronage, especially after athletic events and celebrations. In sea ports, the sailors appeared in large num-

[1] See M. G. Exner, *"Prostitution on the Mexican Border," Social Hygiene*, April, 1917.
[2] See *Social Evil in Kansas City*, page 16.
[3] Loc. cit., page 111.

bers; while in the vicinity of military posts, before the recent restrictions were enforced, the soldier's uniform was conspicuous in the red-light districts.

An interesting exhibit concerning an exclusive patron is furnished by the following excerpt from a New York City paper, from evidence given at a public trial.[1]

"Mrs. S . . . testified that C . . . came to her home on the night of January 13th, 1915, and remained until February 5th. . . . The witness testified that his room was a sumptuously furnished one and that she paid for his 'refreshments,' at his request. The following is a list of the refreshments and other incidentals:

"Paid to Helen R.	$400.00
Florence L.	$640.00
Mabel T.	$120.00
Anna B.	$20.00
Dr. L.	$25.00
Wines, cigars, champagne, cigarettes	$398.00
Meals, frequently from J. @ $5.00	not estimated."

This type of wealthy and idle young man is often a serious menace to young women, because, with his money and his connections, he can secure the acquaintance of any one who pleases his fancy. He may begin by flattering a girl and showing her some attention. He takes her for an automobile ride, or supper after the theater, and gradually wins her confidence. After he has induced her to grant him favors he may maintain her for a while as his mistress or send her money or expensive gifts. Very soon, however, the man is apt to grow tired of the girl, who suddenly finds her romantic dreams dashed, at the same time that her connections with lines of promotion in business have been disorganized. Not infrequently the girl may turn to another male companion and seek forgetfulness in the gay dissipa-

[1] See *New York Globe*, March 5th, 1916.

tion into which she has been initiated. Gradually, as her men associates become more numerous and her conduct more reckless, she drifts down from the exclusive clandestine class to that of the common women who haunt cheap cafés and walk the streets. In this way the fashionable and wealthy patron may become the procurer of women for men in much humbler walks of life.

The woman who has "gone wrong" is regarded by many men as fair game for any hunter. And so they seek the prostitute as an easy conquest for the satisfaction of their desires. One reason for such general patronage has been the widespread notion among men that sexual activity is imperative and that the man's vitality is weakened unless he has indulgence. Recent statements by eminent physicians flatly contradict this assumption,[1] but the idea still prevails in many quarters, because it fits in admirably with inclination. A man's training and manner of life establish his attitude towards this matter. So far as recent investigations show, the necessity is not physiological, but merely psychological. The habit of indulgence, once formed, unquestionably becomes insistent, and certain abnormal nervous conditions may result from the excitation and repression of sex impulse. But it is now generally admitted that while sex functioning is a part of a normal man's life, proper satisfaction cannot be gained through dissipation with prostitutes.

Many men begin experimentation in such matters before they are fully developed. Dr. Exner's study of 948 college men, regarding their early experiences, shows

[1] See M. J. Exner, *The Physician's Answer.*

that, in 36 per cent out of 518 responses, indulgence in sex relations was admitted. Of 441 boys who gave details, it was found that fifteen years was the average age at which such practice began.[1] It will be seen from these returns that loose habits were early established, and it may readily be inferred that continuance was easy.

Various reasons are advanced to explain why a man seeks such indulgence. In his discussion of causes of prostitution, Bonger indicates five which sustain the demand for illicit gratification.[2]

First, many young men cannot afford to marry and support a wife in the style in which they have both been accustomed to live. Consequently, men postpone the establishment of a home, and in the meantime allow themselves such gratification as their taste may demand or their means permit.

Second, the desire for variety leads men to seek new consorts. This applies not merely to the unmarried man who seeks various experiences, but also to the married man who tires of his lawful spouse.

Third, lack of affection in the home or coldness on the part of the wife leads other men to seek gratification in quarters where it is more readily granted.

Fourth, ennui or the sheer love of diversion leads men to seek gay and irresponsible companionship in moments of recreation. It is the same impulse that leads some men to drink. It is the hope for some pleasure that will enliven the dullness of life's routine.

[1] M. J. Exner, *Problem of Principles of Sex Instruction*, pages 16-18.

[2] Bonger, *Criminalité et Conditions Economiques*, pages 379 and 380.

Fifth, in the case of a few men, sex appetite is exaggerated or perverted. The only persons to whom such individuals may have recourse are professional prostitutes who will gratify their extravagant whims.

While these causes help to explain the demand side of prostitution, they by no means justify it. The simple fact is that male desire, being thwarted or disappointed, seeks in illicit relations the satisfaction it cannot normally obtain. The most serious aspect of this demand is that it becomes wholly sensual, divorced from all feeling of affection and respect toward women. The prostitute is regarded as one might consider a cigar, to be enjoyed for a brief time and thrown aside.

Panderers and Procurers. The business of furnishing human live stock has brought in the disagreeable third parties who profit by the trade and who stimulate the traffic in unnatural ways. For such persons, relations between the sexes becomes a nasty business, which it pays to exploit for the money in it. Because of the large returns which may be made in this way, such persons are frequently led not only to corrupt youth and innocence but also to reach those who are supposed to enforce law and order, influencing and bribing those in authority to permit what the statutes prohibit. Such exploiters have no reason for their occupation except avarice.

For these reasons the tolerant attitude of the man in the street who is an occasional patron of prostitutes is demoralizing, because it helps to undermine public opinion. The interested efforts of the exploiters to promote the business profit by such compliance and batten upon the weakness of those who seek the prostitutes.

Patrons and Exploiters

The woman, therefore, is not the only factor in the business of prostitution. She is merely the one most actively in evidence, although her patrons and exploiters are far more numerous and perhaps even more responsible than she.

Perhaps the most sinister figure connected with the business of prostitution is that of the male procurer, "pimp" or "cadet" as he is often called. Such a person is one who associates with immoral women for the purpose of sharing their earnings. He occupies toward them the relations of master, manager, protector, bully and lover. He may be the woman's husband, or he may be a man who has a dozen girls working for him.

The reasons for the existence of the cadet or pimp are not difficult to find. He may be the young man who seduced the girl and brought her into the business. He may then manage her, securing patrons and arranging the rendezvous. When his girl is arrested he sees that bail is furnished, or, if she is attacked, that she is defended. He may also engage in the gentle occupation of terrorizing and blackmailing her customers. If the girl be refractory, he becomes her ruthless master, threatening her with exposure to her friends or to the police, and sometimes beats her into submission.

In spite of all this the fact remains that the pimp is the one human being with whom the prostitute has enduring human relations. Other men come and go, but this man not infrequently is her husband or her lover. To him she gives the earnings of prostitution, as other women might contribute by the work of their hands. The pride and affection which some prostitutes have for these

men, if not beautiful, is genuine. We have heard girls boast of the recklessness of their lovers and describe the elegance of the fellow's fine clothes, for which their earnings had paid.

Wherever there are large numbers of open resorts, or where clandestine prostitutes are numerous, these parasites are to be found. How many of them there may be throughout the country is past guessing. Under the Mann White Slave Traffic Act, from 1910 to July 1, 1916, there were:

1537	convictions,
238	acquittals,
239	cases nolle pros., and
400	pending.
Total 2414	

This by no means represents the number of men engaged in the business, but merely indicates persons apprehended for transporting women across state boundary lines for immoral purposes.

Whenever a town is closed and the prostitutes leave, a host of well-dressed and apparently idle men also drift away. Some of these persons have been known as chauffeurs, waiters, bartenders and agents for various wares. Many of them have actually been pickpockets, confidence men, gamblers and drug peddlers. Frequently the men use some occupation as a means of getting into touch with persons through whom they can secure patronage for their real source of support, which is their girls. Mr. Kneeland's study of some forty cases in New York City shows that most of the men there were of foreign birth, Russian Jews predominating in the cheap resorts.

The story of one of them may illustrate their character and typify their career.

Leo Mersky was born of a good Russian Jewish family in the year 1895. He was educated in a gymnasium with the other boys of his neighborhood. His father died when Leo was young and in 1911 he came to this country to join relatives. Here he obtained employment as a hat and cap worker, living in the Ghetto and attending night school.

Mersky's trouble began when he got in with a corner gang in his neighborhood and began going to a disorderly dance hall. He there fell in with an Italian pimp and with him opened a house of prostitution. They had three girls, Mersky acting as "fixer," or "go-between," when trouble threatened from the police. Inmates for the house were obtained by luring immigrant servant girls away from dance halls, giving them a good time and ruining them. After that the girl was promised money if she would be docile and work.

Mersky was later arrested in a gambling raid and was released only upon condition that he would inform the police concerning disorderly places in the neighborhood. This Mersky did for some time, working as a "stool pigeon" and pointing out the cadets and white slavers in that section of the city. But he soon found that he could earn more money by warning these people and accepting bribes from them. Finally, a prostitute complained to the police that Mersky was taking money from her. He was indicted and turned state's evidence.

Mersky attributed his downfall to the bad companionship and poor recreation in the neighborhood where he

lived. He said also that the dance halls and wine rooms were places where girls were lured into the business of prostitution. He urged as a remedy for such conditions more wholesome pastimes for young people and better family control, especially for girls.

There formerly existed in New York City an organization of pimps and panderers known as "The Independent Benevolent Association." It formed a kind of stock exchange for the trade, where shares in the business were sold and transferred. While not in a real sense a market where women were actually sold, its members were men who dealt in the earnings of prostitutes and who managed them. It promoted the welfare of the exploiting group and was in touch with other men outside the city.[1]

Some of these men managed a string of girls, placing them in various houses and rotating them in these resorts as theatrical troups are alternated in a circuit. Upon the earnings of these women they collected from 10 per cent to 50 per cent, so that their profits were often very considerable, fifty to one hundred dollars a week being an ordinary income for three or four women.

A study of 229 men convicted under the Mann White Slave Act[2] shows that their ages range from seventeen

[1] See *Senate Document 196*, 61st Congress, page 24.

[2] From the records of the Atlanta and Leavenworth Federal Prisons.

It should be remarked that men convicted under the Mann White Slave Act are of two distinct types:

First, those apprehended for transporting women across state lines for the purpose of exploiting them in prostitution.

Second, those persons arrested for transporting or accompanying women across state lines for immoral purposes. The latter are sometimes men guilty only of an escapade such as might go un-

to fifty-six, but half the number were between twenty and thirty years.

As to their nativity, 166 (72 per cent) were native born. The nationalities were distributed as shown in the following table:

TABLE X

NATIVITY OF MEN CONVICTED UNDER WHITE SLAVE LAW

Nativity	Number of Cases	Percentage
United States	166	72.5
Italy	26	11.5
Russia	8	3.5
Greece	7	3.1
Austria-Hungary	5	2.2
Canada	4	1.7
Great Britain	3	1.3
Germany	2	.9
Turkey	2	.9
Bulgaria	1	.4
France	1	.4
Algiers	1	.4
Mexico	1	.4
Syria	1	.4
South America	1	.4
Total	229	100.0

Of the foreign-born men only six had been in the country less than five years, but only five of all the foreigners were recorded as having gained their citizenship. A large percentage of the men were of foreign parentage, ninety-two having had one or both parents born outside the United States, as compared with one hundred and two of native parents.[1] In 165 cases, or 62 per cent of the total number, one or both parents of these men were still living.

punished if conducted within the state. In some cases it would appear that they had become victims of the law through the information of unscrupulous women or their associates. Unfortunately, it is impossible in these cases to distinguish between the actual exploiter and the reckless traveler.

[1] Not all parent nativities were given.

Of the Atlanta group, twenty-five were single, thirty-five were married, thirteen were separated, two divorced and four widowed. This shows an unusually large proportion of men living apart from their wives. Of the fifty-four men who had married, thirty-two had seventy-eight children, their families ranging from one child to ten, one or two children being the rule in three-fourths of the cases.

These men had been engaged in about forty different occupations. The most usual ones were those of factory and farm work, mechanical lines and unskilled labor, followed closely by personal attendants, such as bartenders. Plainly these are the less skilled occupations. Only one professional man appeared in the list.

The histories of this group show that more than half the boys left home before they were eighteen and less than 25 per cent remained after the age of twenty. Their education had been meager. More than half of them had finished common school, but about one-third could only read and write. Scarcely 16 per cent had gone to high school and college, while more than 6 per cent were illiterate. Their religious professions seem to reflect merely the character of the groups from which they were drawn. The majority were Protestants, followed closely by Catholics. More than 20 per cent professed to have no religion.

In order to study more carefully the character of male offenders, the histories of 216 men committed to the Elmira State Reformatory for abduction, rape, incest, sodomy and compulsory prostitution of females were analyzed. The ages of these persons ranged from six-

teen to thirty-one years, but half of them were from eighteen to twenty-one.

As to physical characteristics the mean height was about five feet five inches, and their median weight about 135 pounds. More than 80 per cent were designated as of a coarse type. In over two-thirds of the cases, serious physical defects were noted, and in nearly one-half, what amounted to stigmata were observed.[1] In more than 25 per cent clinical signs of venereal diseases were found.

Concerning the families of these young men, fathers addicted to the use of alcohol were mentioned in 155 records, and drinking mothers in fifteen. Family diseases were noted in some cases, the appearance of consumption being most frequent; but here the entries were not complete.

So far as earnings reflect physical and mental capacity, some idea of the varied character of the group may be formed from the fact that the earnings of these men before commitment ranged from $5.00 to $100.00 a week, but more than a third of them usually earned from $9.00 to $18.00.

The early education of these men was deficient. Only nine of the whole number had attended high school, and only one had gone to college. Most of the others had mastered only the rudiments of English and arithmetic.

Concerning the character of their associates, in ninety-four cases (42 per cent) these were pronounced doubtful, in seventy-four instances (34 per cent) bad, and in only forty-six (24 per cent) were they considered

[1] In sixteen cases abnormal ears were noted, in twenty others malformed palates, and thirty men were described as morons.

good. As further indicating their habits, ninety-five (44 per cent) of the prisoners admitted having consorted with prostitutes more or less regularly, weekly or monthly visits being a rule. Only twelve of the men denied having had such relations. One hundred and eighty-one of the men (84 per cent) used tobacco in some form, and 174 (81 per cent) used liquor. Eighty of these young men had previous criminal records, involving offenses from those of a trivial nature up to burglary and previous attempts at rape.

The following table will indicate better than any descriptive matter the mental and moral status of these men:

	Poor	Fair	Good	No record
Mental status	156	49	11	..
Mental capacity	165	45	6	..
Mental appreciation	197	18	..	1
Susceptibility to training	192	22	1	1

From this exhibit it is apparent that in sex offenders we have to deal with men of a low grade of physical and mental capacity. The impression of those who know these best seems to be that weakness rather than strength leads the pimp to attempt to dominate and exploit women.

It should be noted that all of this group were convicted of felonies—much more serious offenses in the eyes of the law than those sex offenses, such as loitering, soliciting or frequenting houses of prostitution, for which prostitutes are ordinarily brought into court. A study of 1,000 consecutive admissions at the State Reformatory at Elmira, made in 1916-1918, shows that 898 individuals admitted association with prostitutes. An analysis of the characteristics of these 898 cases would be inter-

esting, as most nearly comparable with those of their women associates.

Owners. A grade higher than the man who exploits individual girls is the owner of resorts. Many of these men were found to have graduated from other callings, and, having amassed money in one way or another, invested it in the equipment of a house. Some of these properties were very valuable. Occasionally the house was owned on shares, and several persons participated in the revenue. A woman, sometimes the owner's favorite, was put in charge as madam, or some experienced person was selected for that position. As already indicated, a man might be interested in a group of houses. His accounting with the managers of the particular houses was arranged in a business-like fashion, either all above expenses being appropriated by him, or a certain percentage claimed.[1]

The story of Motche Goldberg, "King of the Vice Trust," will illustrate this type of man. Goldberg came from Warsaw with his girl and opened a cheap parlor house in New York City. By 1912, he owned shares in eight places which had altogether 114 inmates. He became the business manager for a group of disorderly resort keepers. It was estimated that his share of the profits amounted to about $4,000 a month. He was believed to have been in collusion with certain corrupt elements formerly on the city police force. When summoned by the District Attorney to answer a charge of white slavery, Goldberg was put under bond, jumped his bail and became a fugitive from justice. In January,

[1] See Kneeland, loc. cit., pages 278-280.

1918, he died in Arizona, and collections were made for his funeral among men of the underworld in New York City.

Sometimes an owner or real estate agent simply rented or leased the houses or cribs to madams or individual women. It has been shown[1] that the rental of properties used for such purposes may be extortionately high. On the old Barbary Coast, properties which when used for legitimate purposes brought from $40 to $100 a month in rent, when used for purposes of prostitution yielded from $300 to $900. One resort, which cost only $8,000 to build, brought in for a considerable period over $2,000 a week.[2]

The attitude of real estate men in renting houses for this purpose has been mentioned in several vice reports.[3] Perhaps a personal reminiscence of the writer may indicate the position which a real estate agent or owner sometimes takes regarding this matter.

Several years ago while living in a western city which then permitted a vice district, I was requested by a tenant in an apartment house to expostulate with the landlord because an apartment had been rented to a prostitute. The other tenants objected because of their children. Upon investigating the matter it was found that the woman was known to be immoral and a visit was made to the office of the realty company to protest. The manager said that he was not aware that an apart-

[1] See Chapter IV, page 119.
[2] See F. Hichborn, *The Social Evil in California*, page 6.
[3] See *Report, Portland, Ore., Vice Commission*, pages 49 and 59, and *Wisconsin Vice Committee Report*, pages 80-82.

ment had been rented to a disorderly person and that he would investigate and correct the error.

The next month the situation not only continued, but an additional suite was let to the woman. Her neighbors complained of noise and disorder, and a second visit was made to the office of the estate. This time the manager admitted that the apartment had been let, but said this was due to an error on the part of a new janitor, who had not understood the situation. A promise was made that a change would be effected.

Another month elapsed and the two apartments had been enlarged by the addition of two others on the same floor. Upon a third visit the manager received the writer with less affability and said quite frankly: "Well, you see we have to make the place pay. It is on the edge of the district anyway and we might as well get what we can out of the trade." This reply seemed to indicate the real attitude in the matter, which is one not infrequently assumed by landlords and agents in other places. Some owners are doubtless unaware of the use to which their property has been put, while others have been willing to let the premises for immoral purposes if things are kept quiet. Investigations have shown that the owners of real estate used for such purposes were not seldom persons or corporations well known in the community.

Madams. Under the former regime of parlor houses and assignation resorts, the landlady, or "madam," as she is generally called, was the most important factor. She was the manager, housekeeper and sometimes the mistress of the revels. Typical data, collected by the Department of Justice in five eastern cities in 1912-1913,

show that about one out of five women registered in recognized resorts of prostitution were inscribed as madams. As a rule these women were older and more experienced than ordinary inmates. The material just referred to shows that the average madam was over thirty years of age and had had more than ten years' experience in the business.[1] This means that the typical landlady had grown up in the life, and because of a certain force or capacity had assumed proprietorship or control in the place. Frequently the house and its furnishing represented her savings for a term of years.

The impression gained from interviews with these women was that as a whole they were vigorous and better preserved than might have been expected of persons who had been long engaged in so trying an occupation. It should be said, however, that many of the madams did not themselves engage in prostitution, or, if they did, to only a limited extent. It was necessary for them to look after the health, comfort and finances of the girls and to see that their patrons were satisfied. This means that the landlady assumed rather the rôle of a matron.

Conversation brought out the fact that many of these women were remarkably shrewd and level-headed. They often spoke with pride of their business, indicating that it was well conducted, and showed with pleasure the attractions of their establishment. Quite generally the madams had a poor opinion of the judgment of the ordinary prostitute. Their confidence in the fidelity of the average man was even less. Not seldom they made

[1] See also *Wisconsin Vice Committee Report*, pages 209 and 210.

pointed remarks concerning the dishonesty of the local police. Some of them indicated the necessity of paying for protection from that source. Others declared that the administration was square and expressed great scorn for the "reform crowd."

Almost uniformly the madam's attitude seemed to be that prostitution is a necessary evil, and that it is much better to regulate it as a business, keeping it within proper bounds, than to permit it to spread throughout the city. They seemed to believe that the house of prostitution stands as a barrier between the virtue of respectable young women and the uncontrollable desire of men.

As already indicated, the ordinary method of managing a parlor house was to share the earnings of the girls upon a 50 per cent basis. Less often, the plan was to charge for board, and allow inmates to retain all they made. The sale of liquor and sums received for music added to the madam's revenue. The receipts ordinarily varied from $25 or $30 a week to several hundreds. Stories are told of women who amassed fortunes and retired.[1] Usually, however, their lavish manner of living and the lack of a definite incentive to save kept these women in the business until an advanced age. Perhaps the histories of a few typical cases will indicate the character of madams.

Mattie May[2] was the proprietress of a high-class assignation house in the former restricted district of a

[1] See *Baltimore Vice Commission Report*, page 15.
[2] Such names have been changed from the real ones appearing upon our confidential records.

southern city. She was a small intelligent woman of Irish extraction. At the age of fifteen years she became the mother of an illegitimate child. She was cared for in a rescue home, which repelled her by its drudgery and the superior attitude of those in charge.

Upon leaving this place she went to work as a hospital nurse in a southern city. There she became intimate with one of the doctors. As soon as this affair became known, Mattie was obliged to leave. She went into a parlor house in another city and earned money for her child and herself. She stayed there until the district was closed and then came to S——, as the madam of a small establishment. At the time of our interview she stated that she kept a high-class assignation house, for such persons only as were known to her. She indicated that girls employed in shops and married women kept appointments in her place.

Miss May expressed her belief that there is "nothing in the business," but she did not seem to know what else to do, because, as she said, "respectable people won't give the girls a chance." Her attitude towards respectability was somewhat cynical, but she concluded her statement by indicating that she herself would like to be "respectable" some day.

Of a very different type was Harriet Morris, who formerly kept a parlor house in the red-light district of another city. She was a woman over fifty years of age, and had been in the business for twenty-nine years. Her appearance was that of a stout, sensible matron with some weakness for jewelry and artificial hair. She had nine girls in the house and charged them $16 a week

board. Over them she exercised strict supervision concerning their health, and instructed them how to take care of themselves.

This woman supported her mother and sister and two children of the latter. She also adopted a child left on her doorstep. This girl was educated in a convent and Mrs. Morris at the time of our interview was about to send her a gift upon the occasion of her marriage. "Now that she is taken care of, I am going to get out of the business," she said. "I am trying to find a place out west to settle down and die respectable."

Mary Burnside came to the City of O—— as a girl of fifteen to study photography. By chance she stopped at a parlor house, without knowing the nature of the place. She was shocked and surprised to discover the facts, but her curiosity and the argument of easy money prevailed upon her to stay. Through her natural thrift and economy she became landlady of the place and conducted it in the old district for twenty years.

Religious influences led her to see the evil of the life, and she left it. In public speeches and in pamphlets she exposed the exploitation of the girls. Her earnest desire was to improve their condition by establishing a home to which they might be sent. Her new-found friends did not, however, receive her cordially, and the coldness of this welcome rather chilled her enthusiasm. For the last few years she had lived by herself in a modest cottage toward the edge of the town. But she said: "I am very lonely. My wish now is to go away and try to forget all this."

The story of Mary Goode, who died in New York

in 1916, is well known. She came to the city as a stenographer, and after working awhile was taken seriously ill. Upon coming out of the hospital she was in straitened circumstances and as a means of livelihood undertook the running of a rooming house. This establishment became a well-conducted house of prostitution, the inmates of which were urged to attend divine service on Sunday.

Mrs. Goode had great difficulty with the police. She was at last prevailed upon by an investigating commission to tell what she knew about official methods of levying blackmail. This conduct earned for her the enmity of certain forces and she was unable to continue her rooming-house business.

Mrs. Goode's notion was that prostitution is a necessary evil. She wished it to be controlled by a committee of women, who would see that the girls were not exploited and that opportunity was given them to reform if they were willing to do so. She spent the latter part of her life trying to help the girls who were dismissed from the Workhouse. A cold contracted by walking home in the rain after giving all her money to one of these unfortunates was the cause of her death.

These instances show the more agreeable side of a madam's life. That others exploited the girls cannot be denied. But accounts of forcible detention and abuse of young girls seem to have been exaggerated from findings in sensational cases. It is true that a few of these women were dangerous as procuresses and some were known to seek "fresh stock" in stores or other places for the gratification of particular customers.

Patrons and Exploiters

Runners. Two other groups of persons were found, who to a greater or less extent profited by their connection with commercialized vice. The first of these was composed of the runners and solicitors of various sorts who were paid small commissions for directing trade to the houses. These persons were of various types and included waiters, bartenders, chauffeurs and poolroom attendants. Sometimes they were scarcely to be distinguished from pimps; in other cases they were simply advertising agents for the houses. A regular "light-house," or lookout man, who steered visitors into the resorts and warned the inmates of the appearance of the police, used to be employed in many places. Our investigation showed that porters and bellboys in many hotels were particularly active. They generally expected a tip ranging from twenty-five cents to a dollar for furnishing information or sending women to the rooms. Chauffeurs or hackmen were often found to know the whereabouts of resorts, and charged the visitor a generous fee for conducting him there. Some of them also received from the proprietors of the resorts a commission for bringing visitors. Even newsboys and messenger-boys for a small consideration sometimes served as guides.

Liquor Dealers. It is generally admitted, and the conclusion was borne out by our own investigation, that one element which profited greatly by the conduct of disorderly resorts was the liquor dealers who furnished wine and beer to the houses, and the saloonkeepers who sold drinks to individual prostitutes and their patrons. The amount consumed in the house varied, of course, with the number of inmates and visitors. A former liquor dealer

informed the writer that in one city a house harboring ten girls might consume during the busy season twenty cases of beer a week. A case of 24 pint bottles was formerly delivered for a dollar and retailed to visitors at the rate of a dollar a bottle. We have estimates that the houses in a large city averaged approximately $5,000 each per annum on the sale of wine and beer.[1]

It was estimated by the Chicago Vice Commission in 1911 that the sale of liquor in disorderly saloons, parlor houses and flats amounted to over seven million dollars a year.[2] This amount is almost one-half of the total annual income calculated for the business of prostitution in the city at that time.

It has already been indicated that certain saloons and hotels found the sale of liquor to prostitutes and their patrons a profitable source of revenue. In some instances the woman received a commission for the number of drinks she induced her prospective customer to purchase. In this way the liquor interests in some places became identified with disorderly resorts, which found alcohol a useful means of attracting and stimulating their clientele as well as of enlivening and enriching the women in the trade.

The effect of prohibiting the sale of liquor in houses of prostitution has been to reduce their business greatly. Policemen and prostitutes seem practically unanimous in the opinion that "cutting out the booze" puts a damper on riotous mirth. Dry towns are often described as

[1] Kneeland, *"Commercialized Prostitution and the Liquor Traffic,"* *Social Hygiene*, January, 1916, page 73.
[2] See *Social Evil in Chicago*, page 113.

"slow" or "dead," and members of the sporting fraternity usually look for more profitable fields of exploitation. Inasmuch as the purpose of this study is to show pre-war conditions only, we cannot point out any results affecting prostitution of the nation-wide prohibition brought about by the Eighteenth Amendment. But it is impossible for any one at all familiar either with the stories of individual prostitutes, or the effects of alcohol in removing inhibitions, or who has witnessed the debauching effects of drink inside the resorts, to doubt that the complete absence of alcoholic stimulants will greatly curtail commercialized vice.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEGREGATED DISTRICT

Definition.—Registration of prostitutes.—Size of districts.—Police rules.—Difficulties of enforcement.—The district as a trap for criminals; as a center of disorder; as an amusement resort.—The district and disease; as a place to spend.—The district passing.—Method of closing.—Results of closing.

Five years ago a curious traveler in search of diversion in certain cities might have been directed to the "red-light district." Making his way along the downtown thoroughfares, toward the water-front, or across the railway tracks, he would enter a quarter no longer inhabited by well-to-do residents, but apparently given over to dingy lodging houses and to dwellings peopled by immigrants or Negroes. A fringe of saloons and cheap dance halls often marked the edges of the section.

Turning into a side street, the visitor would soon notice groups of men passing in and out of the resorts. Closer approach would reveal lights before the doors and bring sounds of tempestuous music to his ears. Before some of the larger places waiting hacks and automobiles stood. Into the entrances of others white-coated waiters hurried with trays and bottles. Farther down the line, painted women in gaudy and scant attire hailed passing men and urged them to come in. At the corner a crowd gathered to watch a policeman arrest a drunken

brawler. Occasionally messenger-boys would enter a house and hang about, open-eyed. At the end of the street, Negro women, bent on robbery, lurked in alleyways and accosted visitors. All through the night and far into the early morning, workmen and sailors, clerks, students and commercial men knocked stealthily at the doors or burst noisily from the shacks. On pay-day, or after a celebration, the place was a bedlam of laughter, shrieks and curses. Such was the district at its worst.

Definition. A segregated district is a section of a community within which open houses of prostitution are permitted, and to which they are supposed to be restricted. The theory of segregation is that if within certain quarters prostitution is allowed, the evil will be concentrated and more easily controlled, thereby protecting other neighborhoods from its manifestations. To this end, a part of the town away from the principal business and residence streets is usually designated. Frequently the region is one abandoned by former householders or not yet developed for commercial uses, such as the environs of railway yards and docks. Into these backwaters a mixed and transient population often drifts, so that questionable neighbors are not actively opposed.

Many American cities have experimented with "red-light districts" in connection with a policy of toleration or control. Sometimes these zones were sharply defined by ordinance;[1] in other instances they were merely centers about which most of the recognized houses of prosti-

[1] As formerly in New Orleans, *No. 6701, New Council Series,* August 2nd, 1910.

tution were grouped. Several places have had two or more such quarters,—one uptown and another downtown, or one for white customers and the other for Negroes.[1] Of forty cities investigated during the spring and summer of 1917, four had never established limits within which prostitutes were permitted openly to conduct their business, twenty-six had closed these sections, and ten still allowed them.

The district, or "line," may consist of a single block of *cribs*[2] or of separate houses scattered along several streets for more than half a mile. In the West, compounds built about a court, surrounded by tiers of rooms, were still to be seen in 1917. The stockades of the old frontier have practically disappeared. In a few places the quarter was limited to prostitutes and their attendants, but in most, saloons, dance halls, shops, and even families of working people were allowed to remain within the invisible pale. In two of the places investigated the women formerly lived outside the section and rented the cribs by the night for business. This filtering in and out, especially along the borders of a shifting district, must be considered in estimating the effectiveness of segregation.

[1] St. Louis, Savannah.

[2] The "Crib," as a part of the segregated district, is rapidly passing, but as a matter of historical interest it may be described. In the West and Northwest the term was applied to a large building of solid construction, surrounding an inner court. No parlors, kitchens or other rooms of common service existed, the structure consisting entirely of rows of cell-like bedrooms opening on a common corridor. The buildings varied in height and sometimes accommodated three or four hundred women. In the South and Southwest the term was applied to a row of one-story, one-room frame buildings, or shacks, opening directly on the street. They contained no conveniences, the women remaining in them during business hours only.

The Segregated District

Registration. In order to segregate prostitution the police usually employed some system of registration.[1] This consisted of a list of addresses of the recognized houses, together with the names of the proprietors. Landladies were ordinarily required to furnish the names of all inmates and to notify the authorities of any departures or arrivals. In six places investigated the girls were obliged also to appear at police headquarters and answer to certain inquiries before they were allowed to enter the houses. The main points noted in such examination were the prostitute's real name and aliases, her age and birthplace or last place of residence, how long she had been in the "sporting life," the address to which she was going, and data for personal identification. Sometimes the woman's photograph was filed or attached to a card, which was her permit to ply her trade. In one city prostitutes were required to pay monthly for a license certificate.[2]

Various restrictions were laid upon the women who entered the districts. In most places they could not be inscribed as common prostitutes under the legal age of majority or of consent, and usually only if they had previously followed the life elsewhere. One city authority refused to enroll girls from out of town, but most sections were composed largely of women born elsewhere. Limitations were also placed upon frequent moving from house to house within the pale. Notice of a change of address was sometimes required. Obviously

[1] This was done in seven of the ten open towns visited.
[2] See Exhibit A, Appendix, page 333.

such movement is difficult for the police to check without the active coöperation of the women. Their rapid transition from one town to another is well-nigh impossible for the authorities to follow, especially since prostitutes often change their names and disguise their personal appearance. As to age and previous manner of life, such facts as were required were usually presented by the women. For instance, if twenty-one years was the required age for registration, practically all the younger women would testify to having attained it.

Size of Districts. In the spring of 1917 the most recent police lists of seven districts recorded a total of 734 houses and cribs, with 1,491 madams and inmates. The most striking fact in these registers was that three of them included 56 tolerated assignation houses which were not used by the women from the cribs and parlor houses. Some authorities have evidently recognized the existence of a considerable number of unregistered prostitutes for whom such places afforded accommodations. In fact, one police chief stated that the call lists of twenty assignation houses included the names of more than 600 women living outside the district, and that more than 1,000 addresses in his town were suspected of harboring prostitutes. At that time only 211 women in that city were registered—about one-sixth of all those believed to be engaged in prostitution.

Investigators have repeatedly found open places not entered in the police lists. The last edition of the New Orleans *Blue Book,* a directory of the sporting district, contains 247 more names than the most recent rolls at

headquarters.[1] Some officials frankly admit that they cannot keep track of street walkers nor of women who use the more exclusive resorts. In several southern cities we were informed that colored and Mexican prostitutes were not registered. Our field notes show that with the possible exception of one small mining town, wherever vice was supposed to be segregated, lewd women were readily discovered plying their trade beyond the limits of the districts. The testimony of most careful observers is in agreement upon this point. Sexual vice tends to elude supervision, and under ordinary urban conditions cannot be restricted to a fixed territory.

Police Rules. In eight of the ten open towns the police had established certain rules to maintain order in the districts. These regulations sometimes forbade bright lights to attract visitors to the houses. In other places the front doorways were brilliantly illuminated and the keepers' names blazoned on the fan-lights. Some authorities would not allow music: others permitted it until a certain hour. In the majority of cases an automatic piano and a floor for dancing were in evidence in the larger houses. Solicitation from doors and windows was also discouraged in five districts, but usually the mere appearance of the women was a sufficient advertisement of their business. Although scant and fancy costumes were prohibited upon the streets, practically no regulation could prevent inmates coming to the front of the house and looking out.

In three places studied, prostitutes were not allowed

[1] Compare *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 1911, Tables I-III, pages 357-9, and *Paducah Vice Commission*, 1915, page 7.

outside the district after nightfall without special permission. In others they were forbidden to enter saloons. In five districts observed, the sale of liquor in the houses was prohibited: but our investigations proved in many cases that it could be obtained if the proprietor believed it would pay to take the chance. In some instances Federal liquor licenses were exhibited but local licenses were dispensed with. Various other minor regulations were prescribed in different places.[1]

Difficulties of Enforcement. All such rules depend for their enforcement upon the vigilance of the police, the docility of the women, and the support of the public. Failure of any one of these factors to coöperate leads to disregard of the regulations and more or less open disorder in the district. If the police attempt vigorous enforcement of measures distasteful to the women or their patrons, the business simply moves, thus defeating the scheme of localization. On the other hand, lax administration permits the district to overstep the bounds set by the authorities and thus endangers neighboring parts of the community. To maintain a nice balance between these tendencies in the face of shifting political responsibility is a task almost impossible for an ordinary police force. The practical result has often been an uncertain policy, characterized by arbitrary measures and subject to corrupting influences. The experience of American cities in controlling tolerated districts has comprised a series of scandals and reforms which have finally led most authorities to doubt the wisdom of attempting to regulate this illegal business.

[1] See *Rules for Reservation*, Exhibit B, Appendix, page 334.

The District a Trap. Some police officials hold that the district, apart from its effectiveness in controlling prostitution, furnishes a means for catching criminals who may be wanted for more serious offenses. It is well known that thieves and other law-breakers frequently seek the company of prostitutes to spend their ill-gotten gains in the dissipation of the brothel. To such persons the district is an open harbor, where they may find shelter, comradeship and the pleasures of debauch. In these resorts leaders of the underworld meet and discuss their schemes. Some of the women may be their companions or their confidantes. Under the stimulation of drink and flattery the criminal may reveal his identity or boast of his exploits. In such circumstances a shrewd woman may gain much valuable information for the police. In fact, some prostitutes have acted as "stool pigeons" for the police in return for consideration by the authorities. In this way dangerous characters may be more easily located and apprehended.

Granting the possibilities of the district as a trap for criminals, the wisdom of maintaining such an attraction for disorderly persons in any community may be questioned. The presence of thieves, gunmen and drug-users apparently throws an additional burden upon the police. Although outward order may be maintained in the district, this usually requires the constant surveillance of a special detail from the force. Frequent arrests within the section can scarcely be regarded as proof of its law-abiding character, but rather of an effort to make it so. The danger of military secrets leaking out

through such channels was brought to the attention of the authorities during the war.

A Center of Disorder. A striking illustration of the troublesome nature of the district is found in the experience of Fort Worth. During the sixty days preceding the closing of the district approximately 1,500 arrests had been made throughout the entire city. Of this number 60 per cent were made within the "Acre," and 22 per cent in sections adjacent to it. These percentages are greatly in excess of the proportion of the area and population of the city included within this region. The figures proved the district to be the center of disorderly resorts. After closing the "Acre" arrests fell off nearly 46 per cent within ten days, as compared with the same period before the lid went down.[1]

If the district be a stamping-ground for law-breakers it can hardly be at the same time a safe place for cautious citizens. It is a well-known fact that fraud and extortion are common in red-light resorts. "Playing the sucker" for as much as he can be made to pay for drinks and entertainment is a recognized method of increasing income. Blackmail and actual robbery are not usual in "high-class" places, for the simple reason that such conduct would spoil business. But in cheap resorts, where prostitutes and patrons come and go rapidly, there is much thievery and violence that is not brought to the attention of the police, for the simple reason that drunken men do not know what happens to them, or, when sober, do not care to appear at the station house and complain

[1] Communicated to the writer through the courtesy of Commissioner Jamieson. See chart, Exhibit C, Appendix, page 336.

of misfortunes suffered in their escapades. One Saturday night in the district of a southern city, the writer saw drunken men sleeping on the ground back of a row of cribs. The guide, who was familiar with the place, remarked: "Those fellows won't have any shoes by morning." Negro "panel houses" and "creep joints" where systematic robbery was carried on were reported but not investigated.

On the other hand it should be stated that some districts presented an outward appearance of order and the houses were conducted quietly. A stranger passing along the street, especially during the day, might not suspect the nature of the resorts that bordered it. Several police authorities asserted that they had no trouble with the section, because the girls realized that they were watched and the landladies feared that any complaint might result in closing their places. Some madams would not admit drunken patrons lest disorder result. But, on the whole, the district was regarded as a place where much license was allowed, so long as it did not break out in open violence or indecency.

Perversion. A word should be added here regarding places in which unnatural practices and obscene exhibitions were tolerated. It is impossible to state how generally such perverse attractions have existed either within the districts or outside. Formerly places of this character were notorious in several districts. Our own investigation showed that they persisted in at least three open towns. Although the police have apparently sought to suppress this sort of entertainment, and many of the women are opposed to it, the practice remains as part of

the traditional wickedness of some resorts. The corrupting effects of such open viciousness may be more easily imagined than analyzed or described.

An Amusement Resort. This suggests an aspect of the district which must be considered in estimating its influence in the community, namely, its function as a place of amusement. Many men who visit the red-light quarter do so merely to see the sights. They tramp the streets and look into the resorts or chaff the women, with no other purpose than diversion. Many of them merely dance or take a drink, and go along. This "hopping" or "chair-warming," as it is sometimes called, is not always encouraged, but in a district it can scarcely be avoided. An open market cannot exclude possible customers, even if they do not transact business immediately. Such slumming, however, readily leads to familiarity with vice and plants suggestions which may later be carried out. So groups of men have been observed to enter resorts in a spirit of fun, but not infrequently stragglers were seen to remain or return in order to satisfy something more than passing curiosity.

In some places minors were forbidden to enter the district, but in others we have seen children playing about the neighborhood. Formerly it was not uncommon for messenger-boys to enter the houses and even to serve as guides.[1] These youngsters sometimes showed a precocious acquaintance with the ways of vice, and adolescent boys have been known to contract venereal disease in open resorts.[2] A striking illustration of the results

[1] E. g. *Paducah Vice Commission*, 1916, page 11; *Vice Report, Lexington*, 1915, pages 31 and 32.
[2] *Wisconsin Vice Report*, 1914, page 134.

of such places on the health of young men is furnished by the Surgeon of the Naval Training Station at Norfolk, Virginia, who stated that before the city closed its district venereal affections amongst apprentice seamen were twice as frequent as subsequently.[1]

The District and Disease. The control of venereal disease has often been advanced as an additional reason for maintaining the district. It is claimed that since women in open resorts are known to the police they may be subjected periodically to examination and those found to be infectious may be removed. This method of checking active foci of contamination, adopted from European systems of reglementation, has been employed at various times in at least a dozen American cities.

During the spring and summer of 1917 official sanitary precautions were noted in four of the ten districts visited. In only one of these was the examination conducted by a public health officer. In the other three the local police required the women to procure from a private physician a statement showing them to be free from infectious venereal disease. Failure to secure such health certificates might result in arrest or expulsion from the district. The most complete plan observed was that set forth in the regulations of a western city.[2] Tests by private practitioners usually consisted of fortnightly visits for examination with a speculum. In many "high-class" resorts the women voluntarily adopted similar precautions merely as a matter of business.

It is not our purpose here to discuss in detail the ef-

[1] See Dr. C. E. Riggs, *Venereal Prophylaxis in the Navy. Social Hygiene*, July, 1914, page 311.
[2] See Exhibit D, Appendix, page 337.

fectiveness of such measures, but merely to indicate results obtained in districts where data are available. The City Health Officer in the place above indicated stated that from specimens gathered on his previous round 36 out of 109 Wassermann tests were positive. The physician who formerly conducted the examinations in a southern city also gave 33 per cent as the proportion of syphilitic women found in his work. More convincing facts may be cited from the records of the Municipal Clinic of San Francisco, where prostitutes of the old district were formerly treated. Of 2,762 women registered and observed in this institution between September 17, 1912, and September 13, 1913, 876 (or 31.34 per cent) were reported from one to five times during their visits as infected with gonorrhea or syphilis, or both. Similar evidence is obtained from the Diagnostic Clinic of the Detroit Board of Health. Among nearly one thousand prostitutes examined there between February, 1916, and May, 1917, infectious venereal conditions were noted 656 times, of which 632 were active gonorrhea. Of 1,769 Wassermann tests made during this period 1,145 (or 64.73 per cent) were found positive. Under the old order in Manila about 25 per cent of the 1,500 registered prostitutes were reported infectious, and 300 special beds for them in the hospital were constantly filled.[1]

Returns from private physicians who examine some of the women are less satisfactory. Their findings manifestly differ according to the extent and character of

[1] Maus, *Venereal Disease in the Army, Proceedings, 15th Congress of Hygiene and Demography*, Vol. 5, page 328.

their practice, as well as in relation to their own skill and care. Estimates from such sources vary from 10 to 90 per cent as the proportion of prostitutes who are diseased. In this connection a statement made by the Health Officer of a western city concerning the certificates given by private physicians is significant. The gentleman in question informed the writer that subsequent examination of women with such cards showed 20 per cent of them to be actively infectious. It appears that some prostitutes are able to deceive the doctors as to their condition or to persuade them to give the benefit of the doubt to the patient. A possible source of the difficulty is the identity of the woman who uses the card. She may or may not be the person actually examined. Ordinary patrons have to accept the woman's statement.

In general it may be said that most women object to compulsory examination and try to evade it whenever possible. Some prostitutes frankly stated that they considered it useless and a form of public or private graft. In one district where inspection was begun public clamor compelled its discontinuance. Several municipal health officials stated that they considered such measures highly desirable, but that the community would not stand for them.

Such material merely indicates the frequency of venereal disease among women registered in the district. It does not show the number of infections transmitted. Reliable data as to source of contamination are difficult to obtain. Many patients do not know or will not tell when or how they were infected. Returns from private physicians and from public clinics upon this point vary

according to the number and character of the persons who come to their attention. No single source of information in any locality can therefore be conclusive unless it comprises all cases of venereal disease contracted in that place—a situation practically never realized.

With this caution in mind we may note that according to the records of Lakeside Dispensary, situated near the old segregated district in Cleveland, 45 out of 112 cases treated during the eight months prior to the closing of that section, were reported to have been contracted within the neighboring resorts.[1] In Norfolk more than half the new infections of men at the Naval Training Station were traced to the former regulated district in that place.[2] Both cities mentioned required medical inspection in their districts.

Figures regarding venereal disease among men in army posts are more convincing. Although it is known that many soldiers were infected outside of the locality or even before enlisting, still it is significant that according to the Surgeon-General's report for 1915 the ten posts having the highest venereal rates were in or near cities with regulated or tolerated districts at that time.[3] It is true that few towns required medical inspection of prostitutes, but these facts indicate that districts as actually administered did not insure immunity from venereal disease, as is often claimed.

[1] *Social Hygiene*, July, 1916, page 470. See also Cole, Dr. A. N., *Etiological Factors in Contraction of Syphilis, Ohio State Medical Journal*, September, 1915.
[2] Riggs, *A Study of Venereal Prophylaxis in the Navy, Social Hygiene*, July, 1917, pages 303, 310.
[3] *Report of Surgeon-General, U. S. Army, 1916*, page 69.

The Segregated District

It is well known that seasoned prostitutes know how to detect signs of disease in their visitors and try to avoid contamination. In this respect they are generally supposed to be more careful than inexperienced women and more consistently to employ methods for safeguarding their health. Consequently it is claimed that women in open resorts keep themselves clean as a matter of business and do not transmit venereal infection as frequently as do the clandestine and occasional prostitutes who roam outside the district. Regarding the health of the latter classes we cannot here present adequate data, but concerning the habits of the women in the district several statements may be made upon the basis of observations made in open towns visited.

The most serious flaws in the system of medical inspection are the defective methods of examination and the lack of segregation and treatment of those inmates found to be infectious. Such women were "laid off" and either sent to a hospital or treated where they lived. In only one place observed were such cases removed to a public institution and kept until considered "safe." But even there several women were released upon writs of habeas corpus. In general the diseased inmates of open resorts are told to stop business and undergo treatment. If they do not follow these instructions they may be sent out of the district to scatter in the town or to remove to some other place. Obviously, this method is no adequate check upon disease, since the continuation of business is practically left to the prostitute or her landlady.

A Place to Spend. The economic argument is sometimes advanced for permitting an open district in a town.

It is claimed that such places attract travelers and workmen who spend their money in the resorts and patronize local merchants. The Chicago Vice Commission estimated that more than fifteen million dollars per annum were spent in the disorderly resorts of that city when they were running wide open.[1] The Morals Efficiency Commission estimated two million dollars for the Pittsburg district[2] and nearly one million, four hundred thousand dollars was the revenue calculated for the old Kansas City section.[3] Amounts of over half a million dollars yearly were said to be expended in the former red-light quarters of Atlanta[4] and Lexington.[5] Even if these figures exaggerate the income, it must be admitted that large sums were paid to keep these places going. But merely to ask the question as to whether or not this expenditure was beneficial to productive business enterprises within the community suggests an answer to the argument.

Most of the money was spent for the support of prostitutes and saloonkeepers. True, these agents, in turn, scattered it among servants, merchants and landlords. But as an offset to the money left behind we must reckon the cost of caring for many of those who, demoralized or disabled by drink and disease, diminished or lost their earning power in more productive occupations.

It has also been pointed out that property let for purposes of prostitution returns larger rentals than when

[1] *The Social Evil in Chicago, 1911*, page 113.
[2] *Report, 1913*, page 34.
[3] *The Social Evil in Kansas City, 1911*, page 8.
[4] *Men and Religion Forward Movement*, Atlanta, 1912, page 7.
[5] *Vice Commission, Lexington, Ky., 1915*, pages 18 and 19.

occupied by persons who would ordinarily live in such neighborhoods. This is undoubtedly true. The Atlanta anti-vice crusaders cite an instance of a house in the former district which paid its owner an annual rental of $10,000. It was stated that a similar property situated in a good residence section and let to ordinary tenants would not return $1,800 a year.[1] Cribs, single or two-room structures, used to rent in southern districts for $10 to $20 a week. Some of these had no water or toilet. Light was generally extra. Evidently the income upon the investment was high.

The other side to this excessive profit is the depreciation in value which affects neighboring property. Sections around the district are not desirable for family residence. Consequently, the better class of tenants leaves and a floating or mixed population often flows in. This usually means the subdivision of apartments, the taking of lodgers, and a general running down of the section. Frequently, immigrants or Negroes have moved in when the districts were closed. A slow process of demoralization is sometimes the result because of the evil traditions which hang to the old houses, and which bring inquiring patrons back to look for former inmates.

The District Passing. The most significant fact regarding the policy of segregation was that in the spring and summer of 1917, when our survey of American cities was made, there was already evidence of the result of the growing sentiment in favor of closing the districts. In May, 1916, The American Social Hygiene Association published a list of 131 places in the United States which

[1] *Men and Religion Forward Movement Bulletin*, page 7.

were reported to have discontinued segregation officially or never to have adopted it. Among this number forty-seven towns are known to have had a tolerated or regulated district at some time. Of these latter eleven still permitted an open section at the time of our visit and in sixteen others scattering parlor houses were found. The remaining 104 places were presumably more or less permanently closed.

Of the seventy-seven towns which are known to have had districts, sixty-two (or 80 per cent) are places of over 30,000 population. Since cities of this size constitute only about one-half of the number of places considered in our final list, it is evident that large towns, rather than small ones, have attempted segregation. This tendency may be explained by the fact that such places are attractive centers to which great numbers of immigrants and unattached young men flock in search of work and recreation. Cities are markets for all sorts of commercial enterprises, among which prostitution soon establishes itself. Recognition and control of the business was an unsuccessful attempt on the part of urban officials to keep vice from spreading by giving it a limited field. The chances of complete segregation are obviously much less in large communities with mixed and shifting populations than in small, isolated and homogeneous centers.

Between 1893 and 1917 seventy-eight places officially endorsed the policy of repression. The dates of closing open vice resorts in these towns and cities are given in the following table:

Date	1893	1906	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16
No. of Places	1	1	1	8	3	3	15	24	8	8	6

In some cases the official closing did not immediately bring about complete suppression of districts or open houses. In others a town closed by one administration was allowed by the following one to reopen. Several cities have thus shut their districts two or three times. But in general the abandoning of a policy of toleration or control has lessened the security of vice resorts and has broken up their trade. The dates given above indicate, accordingly, the time when repression was officially adopted and since when it has been more or less consistently enforced in the places noted.

It will be observed that the years 1909 and 1913 are the crests of two successive waves of increasing volume. This suggests the results of certain forces active at these dates. In 1909 Iowa passed the Injunction and Abatement Law for the express purpose of wiping out red-light resorts and places for the illicit sale of liquor. This resulted in closing seven Iowa towns noted within the year.

In 1911 the report of the Chicago Vice Commission aroused the country to the evil conditions which existed in the old district of that city, and vigorously urged the policy of repression. This was followed by the inquiry into vice conditions in New York City by the Special Grand Jury of which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was Chairman. One outcome of this investigation was a survey of all phases of the vice problem in the city made in 1912 under the direction of Mr. George J. Kneeland. A wide publicity was given to the result through the publication of his book *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*. Within the next five years forty cities

and states conducted investigations and were practically unanimous in denouncing the policy of segregation. In thirty of the places studied there were tolerated or regulated resorts. As a result of the findings of these bodies of representative citizens all but one of these towns soon closed their red-light sections. The most important outcome of all these activities, however, was the creation of a considerable body of public opinion unfavorable to the segregated district and the open parlor house.

This by no means implies that prostitution was abolished, or nearly abolished, in America, but it was checked and repressed. Publicly recognized markets of vice have been largely done away with. Their place, it is true, has partially been taken by new centers of activity, but these latter are furtive and surreptitious. Their blatant air is gone, and the business is not what it used to be. Like any other commercial enterprise, prostitution thrives through publicity and dwindles when it becomes difficult and dangerous.

One of the interesting sights in American cities to-day is the abandoned red-light district. The curious traveler now finds deserted streets or quiet homes of working people where formerly crowds of men and boys thronged the sidewalks and pressed into noisy resorts. Old-fashioned cribs and parlor houses are rapidly passing away; their notorious keepers have scattered and disappeared. Many of the women have been driven out of town or forced into seclusion; their protectors and exploiters have been rendered cautious, if not innocuous. A summary of the methods used to clean out the districts and of the results attained through repression may lead to a proper

conclusion regarding the relative advantages of segregation.

How Districts Have Been Closed. The reasons for closing the districts are, in the main, two: First, their existence is contrary to law. Except in the States of Louisiana, Arkansas and New Mexico, which apparently permitted their cities to control prostitution, the toleration of places where disorderly and lewd conduct is allowed is contrary to statutes prohibiting such acts. Officers who knowingly permit these places to continue, do so in violation of their oaths to enforce the laws and may be removed or prosecuted therefor. The assumption of authority to regulate prostitution by local administrations has been an entirely improper use of police power. Accordingly, in most cases, it is necessary only that a vigorous official invoke and enforce existing laws to do away with open vice resorts. Of seventy-five places where the method of closing could be ascertained, fifty-four put an end to their districts by such action on the part of the Mayor, Police Commissioner, District Attorney, or some other local or state officer.

In the other twenty-one cases noted it was first necessary to exert pressure on the authorities by arousing public opinion through vice reports, newspaper campaigns, mass-meetings, church associations, and like agencies. In these instances appeals were made to a second group of reasons, namely, the disorder, disease and corruption which result from allowing a center of vice to exist in the community. This is essentially a method of education to overcome general moral inertia. In six places injunction suits were brought against proprietors of dis-

orderly resorts by citizens or associations bent upon awakening the administration to its duties. In two cities political campaigns turned on the issue of a closed versus an open town. By such methods the drives have been begun.

When the time for real action arrives the execution of orders is usually handed to the local police. Interviews with the active heads of police departments in twenty-six cities which had closed their districts within ten years previous to the fall of 1917 brought out the following points:

The most common method of procedure was for the Chief to issue an order directing that the houses be closed and the inmates leave immediately or within a short time. In three places [1] inquiry was first made of the women regarding their plans and offers of assistance were given by local reform associations; but, as a rule, moving out of town was all that was required. Failure to go generally resulted in arrest, followed by fine or imprisonment, until the women either left or found refuge elsewhere in the city.

This program was occasionally varied by a series of wholesale raids or by stationing policemen to watch suspected resorts—"quarantining." The method of gradually reducing the number of houses during a period of months or years was tried with varying success in three of the places studied. Apparently it permits a considerable seepage through the community.

Results of Closing. The result of such action was to move the majority of common prostitutes on to other

[1] San Francisco, Norfolk, Baltimore.

open towns, where they could ply their trade more profitably, or at least with less risk of apprehension by the police. All the authorities agreed that upon closing there was some scattering through other parts of the city, but several admitted that this scatteration had existed while the district was running.

In twenty places the officers believed that the total volume of commercialized vice had been diminished by closing the district, four saw little change and two were doubtful. Of twenty who expressed an opinion regarding the effects of abolition upon clandestine vice, nine stated that they saw little or no change, eight said it had probably increased, and three thought it had diminished. Obviously, many factors are involved in this aspect of the problem and satisfactory data are difficult to get.

Concerning the result of repression upon public order and the character of crimes committed, the replies are more definite. In fourteen cities the police thought that closing had brought about an improvement so far as petty offenses, such as disorderly conduct, were concerned. In nine others little change in this respect was noted. It should here be remarked that prohibition combined with a clearing out of the district, materially lessened the number of arrests. In fact, prohibition alone tended to reduce business in the district.

As to more serious offenses against the person, such as felonious and indecent assault, rape, etc., opinions differ. Thirteen officials saw little or no change since closing, six believed that violent crime had been diminished, and one asserted that sexual crimes had increased. The evidence for this last statement was not

given. Other officers specifically stated that there had been no increase of rapes under repression. Since contrary statements have frequently been made, we may indicate here a few facts bearing upon this line of argument.

In general it may be said that few trustworthy data are available for analysis, and many disturbing factors are involved. Data bearing upon the effects of closing a district are presented in the Police Report of Oakland, California, for the year ending June 30, 1914, and are here reproduced for purposes of discussion.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF SEXUAL CRIMES COMMITTED DURING A PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS PREVIOUS TO THE CLOSING OF THE SEGREGATED DISTRICT AND DURING THE SIX MONTHS SUBSEQUENT THERETO.

Crime[1]	1910			1911			1912			1913			1914 Jan. to July		
	G.	NG.	D.	G.	NG.	D.	G.	NG.	D.	G.	NG.	D.	G.	NG.	D.
Assault to commit rape	1	1		1				1		1			2		1
Rape					1		1				2	2	1	1	4
Statutory rape	4			3	1		4			3		1	9		4
Seduction				1			2	1					2		2
Vagrancy by prostitution	4			2			3			1			39		
Incest					1										
Lewd and lascivious acts	3	2		2			8	1		2	1	1	2		2
Lodging house ordinance													8		
Pimping	1			1			2			2		4	1		
Total of all classes for each year	16			13			23			20			78		

At first glance this exhibit conveys the impression that sexual offenses had been more numerous during the six months subsequent to closing than during the four

[1] "G" means Guilty. "NG" means Not Guilty. "D" means Dismissed.

years previous, but an analysis by the Secretary of the Public Welfare League brings out the following facts:[1]

During 1913, twelve arrests upon complaint for rape were made. Subsequent to closing the district in Oakland, the Chief issued orders that all reports upon cases of this nature should be vigorously followed up. The result was twenty-one arrests for rape up to June 30, 1914, fourteen of which were for offenses committed in 1913, 1912, and 1911, and only four are known to be for offenses committed during 1914. According to the figures cited above, out of the whole number only six cases were brought to trial and but one person was found guilty.

Regarding the thirteen cases of statutory rape, the Chief of Police himself remarked that the previous session of the California legislature raised the age of consent from sixteen to eighteen years, which accounts in some degree for offenses of this kind.

No arrests for seduction were made in 1913, but three of those made in 1914 were for improper relations begun the year previous.

The cases of vagrancy are readily explained by the fact that, previous to closing, prostitutes within the district were not arrested on this charge. Violations of the lodging-house ordinance were also in neighborhoods previously lax in this respect.

Perhaps this explanation is sufficient to indicate how a stricter attitude on the part of the police may lead to a

[1] Secured through the courtesy of Lieutenant Allison T. French, S.C., N.A.

worse showing immediately following a period when the policy of toleration was in force.

On the other hand, it can be shown conclusively that the presence of a district in a city has not prevented numerous and serious offenses against chastity and public decency therein. Taking at random the police reports of Savannah and New Orleans, both of which had regulated vice sections in 1915, we note the following arrests for that year:

	Rape	Carnal Knowledge	Attempted Rape	Sodomy	Abduction and Seduction	Adultery and Fornication
Savannah	8	..	4	..	4	41
New Orleans....	4	58	3	1	1	..

How many similar offenses were committed during the year, for which no arrests were recorded, we do not know.

In the same way we may pick up evidence from the records of the Cincinnati Municipal Court for 1916. They show hearings for the following offenses: rape, 13 cases; assault to rape, 3; incest, 2; sodomy, 3; adultery, 67; fornication, 436. This was while the section was wide open. So in the Denver Juvenile Court, 110 cases of statutory rape were tried within a little over four years preceding May, 1913, although an extensive "line" was running. The contention that an open section is a safeguard to virtue thus appears to be contrary to fact.

Many of the facts and opinions presented concerning the practical operation of a segregated district have been obtained through the police, since they are in a position

to observe its relation to the general order in a city. It must not be supposed, however, that assertions from any source can be accepted without personal observation and correction by other sources of information. The old type of policeman is generally in favor of segregation, because it enabled him to keep track of prostitutes in a rapid and convenient manner. It is difficult for him to trace girls throughout the city and often impossible for him to obtain evidence regarding their acts and character which will be accepted in court. This is his principal objection to breaking up "the line," where all the girls were easily known and controlled. So we were told frankly or confidentially by the men responsible for handling vice in ten cities that had abandoned segregation, that from their point of view a well regulated district is preferable.

On the other hand, a small group of practical policemen are of the opinion that rigorous enforcement of the law to suppress prostitution is the only satisfactory way to handle the matter. Such men have intimated that the old order of things admitted graft and favoritism. They believe, however, that most policemen are honest, and, if left free from political interference, could successfully carry out the work of cleaning up a city. One detective chief expressed his belief that if all communities would consistently follow this plan there would soon be no recruiting stations left from which pimps and prostitutes could spread to other places. This is essentially the new point of view.

Unquestionably signs that the old segregated district was passing from American cities were plainly in evi-

dence as early as the spring of 1917. The prostitute of the parlor house and crib was giving place to the younger and more adroit type who frequent cafés, hotels and apartment houses. The latter sort is more difficult to identify and convict. The resorts which she frequents are apparently more respectable and certainly more guarded. The first trench in the fight with commercialized vice had apparently been won, but other positions remained which are even more difficult to circumvent. The remarkable history of the coöperation of the Commission on Training Camp Activities with the Federal authorities to hasten this end as a war measure and what has happened since is another story.

CHAPTER V

VICE RESORTS

Places where prostitution is carried on: parlor houses, cribs, apartments, assignation houses, call houses, furnished rooms, hotels, boats.—Places where prostitution is solicited: the streets, saloons, cafés and restaurants, dance halls, parks, fair grounds, and other amusement resorts.—The automobile as an instrument of vice.—Abuse of employment agencies.—No special findings as to department stores.

In order to understand the operation of vice resorts, more than a casual stroll through the tenderloin is necessary. One must see and talk to proprietors, inmates and patrons, as well as interview policemen and slum workers, if he would comprehend the business of prostitution. Fortunately, not every student of the problem is called upon to make extensive investigations at first hand, and for those who feel the need of detailed description much material is available in the reports of recent vice commissions.[1] Yet, in order to give a picture of conditions in the United States as they existed at the beginning of the War it is desirable to indicate the principal features of typical resorts observed.

For purposes of rapid characterization, we may divide such places into two main classes: first, those resorts

[1] See also for former conditions in New York, Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, Chapter XXXV; Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, Chapters I-III.

where prostitution is carried on; and second, places which cater to vice by furnishing opportunities for solicitation and procuration. The two groups frequently overlap, because many resorts not only afford facilities for the practice of prostitution, but also advertise the business. On the other hand, places where prostitutes meet their patrons often become the scenes of improper relations.

PLACES WHERE PROSTITUTION IS PRACTISED

Parlor Houses. Beginning with outright vice resorts let us first consider parlor houses. A parlor house is a dwelling used exclusively for the business of prostitution. It derives its name from the fact that inmates ordinarily receive guests in a common parlor or sitting-room. Upstairs are bedrooms to which customers may be conducted after meeting the girls and making arrangements with one of them or with the landlady. Prostitutes usually live in the house, paying board to the madam or sharing their earnings with her upon some percentage basis. Details of economy vary in different places, but the features mentioned are the rule.

Vice investigations conducted from 1910 to 1916 counted more than 1,700 parlor houses scattered and segregated in twenty-two American cities. If to this number we add 464 others recognized by the police and investigators in five of these places, we have a total of nearly 2,200. The numbers found in each place vary from three to 247. Eight of the larger cities had more than one hundred each. These numbers rise and fall rapidly with changes in local policy. For instance, 142

houses were discovered in New York in 1912 and, after five years of repression, only three were reported.[1]

The preceding chapter has shown that at the close of 1917 [2] the old-fashioned segregated district was already passing from American cities, but that in thirty-four places noted scattered parlor houses were still running. This statement does not imply that no others existed throughout the country at that time, but merely indicates that such places were actually found in twenty-four per cent of the otherwise closed towns investigated. Our own field agent reported upon 168 brothels both within and outside of districts in thirty-three cities visited during the course of the year 1917. These specific instances present certain typical features which we may note.

In the first place, over 40 per cent of the houses were found in open vice districts or in sections considered "shady." This is not surprising, because an investigator naturally looks for disorderly resorts in such neighborhoods. The next largest number (32 per cent) was found in those mixed quarters where business had displaced the better residences and where a floating population, often including Negro or foreign elements, had settled. The third largest number (15 per cent) was discovered in business and hotel neighborhoods, and the rest were scattered throughout residence sections of the towns. This is perhaps sufficient to indicate the parts of a community that should be guarded. In twenty-five cases the houses were

[1] See *Commercialized Vice in New York City*, Bureau of Social Hygiene, November 1st, 1917.

[2] See chapter on the Segregated District, page 120.

within one block of public buildings. Nine were near police stations and eight were close to churches. The former were in districts formerly regulated by the authorities; the latter indicated an uncertain attitude regarding practical parish work.

In most instances the houses were discovered through common report and general indications. Bartenders, hotel clerks, chauffeurs and waiters often directed us to these places. Forty-five were identified by solicitation from windows or doorways. In a few cases police officers were nearby at the time.

The furnishings and attractions in these places differed widely. In one instance, for example, the visitor was ushered into an imposing stone mansion, where he found elaborately decorated parlors and ball-rooms. Neatly clad colored servants waited upon him, and musicians were at hand to entertain. Wine was sold at five dollars a bottle, and even beer was a dollar a round of four small glasses. In other places, a frowsy inmate admitted the guest to a dingy sitting-room in a dilapidated cottage. She begged nickels to feed the clamorous automatic piano and urged drinks at twenty-five cents.

The number of inmates in the places investigated ranged from two to sixteen, averaging five or six girls to a house. Their character and appearance naturally varied with the class of resort. At one end of the scale were attractive young women gowned in smart evening robes; at the other, vulgar negro wenches, partly covered with dirty kimonos. The conduct demanded of girls in the better houses may be surmised from the printed rules

obtained from a well-known resort in a former district.[1]

In such resorts one found a motley crowd of patrons. In the higher class houses, visitors were discreetly placed in different parlors, so that well-known men were not embarrassed by meeting their friends about town. A simpler order prevailed in the less expensive places, where groups of men burst into the common parlor and sat about watching the antics of others, until their opportunity arrived to dance and talk with the girls.

In the resorts visited, we counted from two to a dozen men at the time of our call. Most of them appeared to be young and of the rougher type of workers; a few were more mature and of a clerical or professional aspect. Occasionally uniforms showed up in these places, before the restrictions imposed by the Federal authorities during the war prevented the entrance of soldiers and sailors and closed many of the resorts.

The prices and charges in these places were often an index of the kind of patronage that was expected. We may divide the houses into three types. First, there were those so-called "high-class" resorts, where the charges were $5.00 and up. These composed 20 per cent of all investigated. In these were usually encountered the more attractive women and less boisterous patrons. Secondly came the popular $2.00 and $3.00 houses, which formed over half of the whole number. All that need be said concerning these is, that they were very ordinary, in every sense of the word. Thirdly, appeared the cheap parlor houses, where charges were $1.00, or less. These

[1] See Exhibit E, Appendix, page 339.

places were common, especially in Negro and foreign districts, their inmates and patrons exemplifying the low scale of the business. In twenty-five cases unnatural practices were permitted at prices not varying greatly from the ordinary charges.

The earnings of the women in the houses were usually about half of the receipts for services. In some cases they got all this money. The house usually claimed everything spent for drinks and music. The expenses of the girls varied from board at a dollar a day to $25.00 a week. There were also extra charges for services and many tips and extras which passed through the hands of the women and of the servants.

Cribs. In the preceding chapter this term has been defined. The more substantial and pretentious type was found in cities in the Northwest. Throughout the South and Southwest a small structure consisting of one or two rooms opening directly upon the street, and without any reception-room, is commonly called a crib. It contains either simply a small bedroom, or at most an additional kitchenette or bath in the rear. Such places usually rented at from $10.00 to $20.00 a month. Sometimes they were occupied only at night by the women, who paid $3.00 or $4.00 for the evening. As may be imagined, the accommodations are very primitive and the class of patrons and inmates is apt to be rather rough. Formerly, entire rows of such structures were to be seen in the segregated districts of our Southwestern towns. In one place, new ones were recently built, at a cost of $50,000. These included eighty-four little cells with small baths in

the rear. Many of these places are now occupied by Negroes or immigrants.

Such open resorts as those just described were practically all conducted in violation of laws against prostitution and disorderly places. As these have been closed, many of the women have moved to other towns, because they are accustomed to this kind of work, just as pickpockets and beggars have their favorite methods of procedure. Some landladies scatter through the city and open rooming houses, where they have a few girls, who pose as boarders or servants. Frequently no girls live in the house, but may be summoned by telephone from a list kept for the purpose. Rooms are occasionally let with the privilege of receiving visitors.

Apartments. Some enterprising women rent an apartment alone or with a companion and receive only acquaintances. Patronage is usually restricted to a limited circle, or a trusted agent is given a commission for bringing paying guests from downtown. The transformation of city properties by the erection of flats makes the use of apartments and tenements easy. This was the aspect of the problem that New York and other metropolitan centers have faced. In 1912, 1,172 disorderly apartments were found in the former city at 578 addresses.[1] In some houses there were several disorderly apartments, and in others practically the entire building was given over to prostitutes. The same conditions have appeared in other cities, and it is only by vigilance on the part of

[1] See Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, page 144.

the police and landlords that such brothels can be discovered and removed from private buildings.

Assignation Houses. The assignation house is a means of avoiding the appearance of an open resort. Prostitutes do not live in such quarters but may be summoned to them. Not only professional women, however, avail themselves of the protection of such places, but persons who are ordinarily regarded as proper in their method of life occasionally make appointments to meet in them. The vice investigations discovered such clandestine resorts in ten cities, and counted 169 of them in six places. Our own tour revealed houses used for assignation in twenty-nine out of forty cities. In one place there were thirty-three of them, and in another forty-three.[1] It is interesting to note that at the time both these towns had segregated districts; still the police recognized and tolerated these other resorts for the use of women not registered in the houses. A brief note upon a visit to one of these places may indicate the type of resort not rare in American cities.

The place in question was a private house, surrounded by a garden. The proprietress received the investigator graciously and ushered him into a well-furnished parlor. She was a matronly woman of fifty years, elegantly dressed in silk and wearing jewels. She stated that she kept no girls, but let rooms to quiet people. Rates varied from five to twenty dollars, according to accommodation and length of stay. Men in town on business met women here by appointment and stayed a day or two. The landlady said that if requested she would summon nice girls

[1] Towns Nos. 8 and 18.

to complete a party. She concluded with the remark that her house had always been considered clean and orderly, and that she had no patronage of the cheaper sort.

The equipment of the old assignation hotels in San Francisco was remarkable for its ingenious provision for secrecy and comfort. A covered automobile entrance conducted the visitor to a private elevator, which took him immediately to self-contained suites of rooms upstairs. Some of the apartments were furnished with elaborate baths and automatic pianos.

Call Houses. The call house is really an employment exchange for prostitutes. Men who desire female companions apply to the proprietor and are furnished with company according to specifications. Many of the women who are on call live in private apartments or in their own homes. The secrecy of the transaction makes it difficult to trace the connections between the parties, unless the coöperation of the telephone authorities is enlisted. Some of these houses had large directories of girls of all sorts, living in various parts of the cities. Occasionally the more enterprising ones phone in and ask the woman in charge "if there is anything doing" for the evening. Appointments may be kept in any place. Obviously, such resorts permit and promote clandestine prostitution. Seventy-eight call houses were located in 1912 by vice investigators in one city.[1] Evidently the business formerly flourished there.

Furnished Rooms. Places to which the general public may be admitted are more dangerous than private resorts, because persons who do not suspect the character of the

[1] *Philadelphia Vice Report*, page 7.

houses may unwittingly enter them and thus be thrown into contact with immoral individuals. Such is the case with rooming houses. Their advertisements may serve as signs for the initiated and as traps for innocent people in search of lodgings. Fifteen out of forty-three vice investigations conducted in the American cities noted the presence of such places.[1] At the end of 1917 loose rooming houses were reported in twenty-three out of forty-six cities. Our own investigator visited fifty-three such places in twenty-six towns and reported the following salient facts:

About one-half of these rooms were in downtown sections. Others were scattered through residence quarters and old vice districts. In eleven cases the rooms were near churches or other public buildings. Solicitation to them was, in the majority of instances, by street walkers. Other invitations were given in saloons, restaurants and dance halls. The girls, as a rule, demanded $2.00 or $3.00 for services, to which was generally added $1.00 for the room. It was perfectly evident that in the majority of cases the proprietors of the establishments knew of the use to which the premises were put, because the investigator in several instances asked directly if he might bring women to the house, and was told that there would be no objection.[2]

For instance, a prostitute brought an investigator into

[1] In Philadelphia 76 were found. *Vice Commission's Report*, 1913, page 7. In Massachusetts 190 addresses were given. *White Slave Commission*, 1914, page 14. In Newark, 112 addresses were given where single rooms are said to be used for immoral purposes. *Social Evil of Newark*, page 37.

[2] See also the *Social Evil of Newark*, page 49.

a house in a western city. The couple entered the hall and the proprietor, a man of forty, met them. The women told the investigator to register, saying: "Any name will do. Just put, 'and wife'." The investigator followed instructions and the proprietor said: "I charge regularly one dollar and a half, but since it is so late and you only wish the room for a short time, a dollar will do." The woman then inquired if any of her men returned to the house, and the proprietor said: "Yes, some of them do, and I use them right."

Hotels. The use of hotels for purposes of prostitution became a crying evil in many American cities. The experience of New York City with the so-called "Raines Law Hotels" is well known. In order to obtain a license permitting them to sell liquor on Sunday, saloonkeepers formerly added a certain number of rooms upstairs, which were used for any purpose which would bring money. This situation was at once taken advantage of by street walkers, and was only remedied through the activity of the Committee of Fourteen, which insisted that such places should fulfil the requirements of the building laws. The brewing and bonding companies also aided in this direction.

Twenty-two investigations conducted before 1916 scored assignation hotels. In 1912, 105 disorderly hotels were located in one city.[1] Our own investigation of 1917, observed 121 hotels in thirty cities. Solicitations to these places were received in ninety-seven cases. For the most part the invitations were from prostitutes on

[1] See Bureau of Social Hygiene, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City.*

the street or in the hotel itself, and less frequently through clerks, porters or bartenders. In two of the cities, colored porters stood at the door and invited men to come into the house, recommending its advantages for lodging and female companionship. The hotels in both of these towns were close to the depot, so that travelers upon arrival were at once confronted with opportunities to find immoral resorts.

In many of the places the formality of registration was not required by law and was only a matter of usage. Not a few "fake" registers, in which such names as "Smith and Wife" hastily scribbled in pencil appeared, were found. The presentation of baggage also was a matter of discretion. In few of the places was there any regulation regarding the length of time within which a room might be relet. Some landlords objected to renting the room by the week, because they said they could use it several times during the night.

Responsibility for improper conduct rests usually with the clerk or manager, who will often take a chance if he believes it worth while. Guilty knowledge on the part of the responsible agent has usually been required to condemn him before the law, but this is extremely difficult to prove. Some of the places visited were nothing but brothels, because, in forty-three cases out of sixty-four noted the women who solicited declared that they lived in the hotel, and that procedure there was perfectly safe.

The woman generally asked $2.00 or $3.00 for her services, and the price of the room was ordinarily a dollar in addition. It was repeatedly stated that the woman had to divide part of her own receipts with the management.

Porters or bellboys demanded from twenty-five cents to one dollar to give the traveler information concerning the introduction of women to the room, or to conceal such information when the management objected.

The matter of regulation for hotels was found to be exceedingly lax, though several of the communities visited were about to urge an improvement in this regard. Subsequently, measures have been introduced covering the licensing and inspection of hotels, so that, by the end of 1917, the situation appeared to be much improved.

The road-house is simply a hotel, usually with a bar, located outside of city limits. Its greater freedom from regular police inspection permits of its being used by joy-riders more freely than resorts in town. Six such places were visited by our investigator, who found the usual combination of liquor, lodgings and license. Their use by automobile parties renders road-houses particularly dangerous for young girls, who may be induced to go to such places without understanding their questionable character.[1]

Boats. Excursion boats have been used for immoral purposes, because of the ease with which cabins may be obtained for short periods. The Chicago Vice Report noted this evil on the Great Lakes [2] and Kneeland called attention to it in the waters about New York.[3] One line in the latter region became well-known through a vulgar song, which celebrated its broad hospitality to strangers.

[1] See also *Wisconsin Vice Report*, page 38; second *Lancaster Report*, pages 34 and 35.
[2] See *Social Evil in Chicago, 1911*, page 216.
[3] See Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, 1913*, page 73.

On another route, an investigator found that only short-time occupancy of cabins during the evening was expected by the management. It is only fair to state that increased vigilance on the part of the navigation companies has greatly improved conditions. The reported trips of prostitutes on barges is a phase of floating vice which we were unable to investigate.

Massage and Manicure. Some time ago massage and manicure parlors were also used as blinds for places of prostitution. In 1912, three hundred massage parlors were found in New York City; in 1917, only thirteen such places were located.[1] The following extract from the Toronto report will indicate the type of abuse frequently encountered:[2]

"It will be sufficient for present purposes to say that nearly all the so-called massage parlors investigated were houses of prostitution, and worse,—'worse' standing for things abominable and unspeakable. . . . It is even impossible to give the details of the treatment given by the women to men."

The requirement of a license issued by Boards of Health and inspection by medical authorities has been found to be an effective means for checking these abuses.

PLACES WHERE PROSTITUTION IS SOLICITED

The Streets. As vicious resorts are ferreted out and the old-timers retire, new girls, unknown to the police, drift into the city. The most obvious place for their

[1] See Bureau of Social Hygiene, *Commercialised Prostitution in New York City*, November 1st, 1917.
[2] *Report, Social Service Committee, Toronto*, 1915, page 17.

solicitation is the street. But the up-to-date street walker does not accost a stranger as did her predecessor a few years ago. Dressed in the latest fashion and made up rather vividly, she pauses to look in shop windows. If a man addresses her, she permits him to engage in conversation and accepts a suggestion to take a walk or to have some refreshment. A clever girl refrains from making any proposition, but waits for her companion to take the lead. She may then permit him to follow her to her room or to make arrangements later at some assignation house.

The more astute street girl does not hang about dark corners at night, but promenades the avenues and mingles with the shoppers in the afternoon or strolls down the main thoroughfares when the theater crowd is passing. A knowing glance is the only method of apprisal. The difficulty in such cases is for the police to distinguish between solicitation and a casual meeting or innocent flirtation. In one city a detective stated that street girls complain to an officer if a man is too persistent in pressing unwelcome attention.

On the other hand, the old type of "strong arm" solicitation had not entirely disappeared in 1917. Women continued to hang about in the vicinity of vicious districts and accost men as they passed. This was particularly true of colored women, who often suggested perversion at fifty cents or a dollar. The object was to lure a man into some corner and relieve him of his money.

Twenty-two out of forty-three American vice investigations remarked upon street walking. In one place,

8,111 instances were noted[1] in 1912; in another 1,233,[2] and in a third 441.[3]

In our own investigation 112 observations upon the streets were made in thirty-three cities. The hours noted range from noon to midnight, but in the great majority of cases the activity was greatest between eight and eleven o'clock in the evening. In these instances the investigator counted 380 women who were believed to be prostitutes. In one case twelve were observed soliciting at one time, but usually there were only three or four in the vicinity at once. Ninety-nine of these women were observed to stop 199 men. In two cases a woman stopped as many as six men while the investigator was watching. For the most part he saw them accost only one or two men. He himself was solicited 135 times. In may be remarked in passing that in seventeen cases a police officer was near at hand.

Our investigator remarks of one town that when no plain-clothes men appeared to be about to take charge of street conditions, the prostitutes did not hesitate to solicit men. In other cities, prostitutes pick their men, for fear they might "grab" a policeman. One woman with whom he talked said: "What should we be afraid of, I have never been picked up yet. They never bother us at all."[4]

The apparent ages of the women in eighty-four cases noted ranged between sixteen and thirty-five years.

[1] See Bureau of Social Hygiene, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, 1912.*
[2] Philadelphia, *Report Vice Commission,* 1913, page 8.
[3] Syracuse, *Report Moral Survey Committee,* 1913, page 53.
[4] Town No. 25.

Generally, the girls appeared to be about twenty-four. Ninety-five of these women stated prices for services ranging from fifty cents to $5.00; the current rate was $2.00 or 3.00. Colored prostitutes ordinarily asked less than white girls.

Places to which women recommended the investigator to go were designated in eighty-seven cases, amongst which hotels were named forty-six times and furnished rooms nineteen. The price of rooms was ordinarily a dollar. Perversion was promised in nineteen cases. It was usually colored women who suggested such practices.

From the time when the first vice investigations were made until the end of 1917 great improvement was remarked in most of the cities. Much of this was undoubtedly due to the efforts of the law enforcement division of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, whose work by this time had begun to make an impression. A summary of conditions at the end of the latter year shows that street walking continued bad in fourteen out of forty-six towns, while in thirty-two it was more or less successfully repressed. It may be noted, however, that such conditions still persisted in four towns, where open vice districts remained. Our own investigation shows that street solicitations were received in five out of ten towns which were wide open at the time of our visit.

Saloons, Cafés and Restaurants. Saloons and other places where liquor was sold gained in many cases the unenviable reputation of contributing to the business of prostitution. This is because liquor serves as a stimulant to men, while the resorts themselves furnish public meeting places in which persons of all kinds may gather.

Music, dancing and other entertainment increase the opportunities for solicitation. While open immorality was not often allowed, persons connected with saloons in the capacity of bartenders, waiters and porters were frequently able to give information concerning women who were desirous of companionship and could direct a stranger to places where immorality was practised.

The vice investigations in forty-three American cities discovered in sixteen of these places a number of disorderly saloons. Two hundred and thirty were found in Chicago in 1912,[1] and over 300 in New York City.[2] Our own tour, in 1917, located 128 such places in twenty-five cities. These were mostly in the business districts and not infrequently were near public institutions.

In addition to liquid refreshment, music, dancing and other entertainment of various kinds were frequently supplied. In such places the investigator counted from two to sixty-five men and women in rear rooms, and in six of them more than a dozen girls unescorted. Occasionally, the women were allowed a certain percentage of the value of the price of the drinks which they assisted in selling. Some of the beverages which were served to these girls at a high price were not really liquor, but colored water. Our investigator was solicited sixty-eight times to go to hotels or furnished rooms in the vicinity, sometimes in the same building. The price demanded by the women varied from one to ten dollars and the room was usually from one to two dollars more. Fifty-seven

[1] *Social Evil in Chicago*, page 119.
[2] Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, page 145.

of these places were characterized as "tough" and "disorderly."

Doubtful restaurants or cafés where drinks may be had with or without food were often of the same general character, although in outward appearance more respectable. During 1917, eighty-seven disorderly cafés and restaurants were observed in thirteen cities visited. Some of them were little less than common parlors for prostitutes, for whom neighboring hotels or rooming houses furnished accommodations. Not infrequently, waiters or other employees would indicate prostitutes to the visitors and arrange an introduction. Women escorted or alone might enter such places and by a nod or glance indicate their willingness to meet a guest at another table. Although changing tables was not usually permitted the couple could easily withdraw and enter another resort as companions.

Some of these places were known to be "hang-outs" for pimps and gunmen, who gathered there to discuss operations and receive tribute. A few of the resorts were organized almost as clubs and under this pretext received special permission to remain open late at night, Chinese chop-suey restaurants were also several times remarked as rendezvous for night hawks, because the industry of their proprietors permits them to keep open until the small hours of the morning. For this reason those who loitered late upon the street frequently drifted into them for a bite before retiring.

The cabaret and open dance floor was frequently remarked to be a particularly dangerous attraction for young people, who, in search of recreation, were thrown

into contact with immoral persons who frequented such resorts. In some instances, between numbers of the program, women performers slyly solicited and the change of partners incident to a dance floor frequently offered opportunities for making acquaintances and passing cards or notes. The impression gained by our investigator was that the "wine, woman and song combination" was a particularly insidious one. The stranger who enters such resorts to listen to music or to take refreshment finds it very simple to pick up a casual acquaintance who may readily solicit him or her to further and improper intimacy.

But not only are places where liquor is sold attractive to young people. In several towns we remarked that ice-cream and soda-water parlors were frequented by very young persons who flirted and picked up acquaintances there. This seemed to be dangerous for the girls and children who sought these palaces of sweets. A small gift of candy or a treat to soda was sometimes offered by unscrupulous men as an inducement to permit improper liberties. True, such conduct cannot be called venal prostitution, but it may readily develop that way. The presence of girls who drop in to "make a date" is an object lesson to their younger sisters, while the presence of vicious boys and men may become a positive menace.

Dance Halls. The public dance hall is to a young girl what the club and gymnasium is to a young man, at the same time a place for sociability and for exercise. Such places are natural meeting-grounds for young persons of both sexes and when properly conducted lead to pleasant and wholesome relations. But many of the dance

halls have been exploited for improper purposes and become a menace to those who seek amusement in them.

Dances are in the main of three kinds. First, dancing classes or assemblies for the instruction of pupils; secondly, those conducted by clubs or associations in halls rented for the purpose; thirdly, open dance floors where any one who pays the admission can come and enjoy the music. Perhaps the principal danger in all cases is that persons may be thrown into association with anyone who chooses to pay the price of admission. A common usage is to charge admission for men, while girls are either admitted free or pay a much smaller amount. This practically makes the girls an attraction for the men, and consequently the management will try to draw the girls, in order to get money from the men. From the remarks of young men overheard, it often appeared that they frequented dances with the purpose of picking up a girl who was "a live one."

Of the forty-three vice investigations conducted in American cities, twelve mentioned the dance hall as a dangerous influence, especially for young girls. Our own investigator noted a few of these resorts in eight cities and, in practically every case, remarked upon the danger from improper dancing and from the association of young persons with hardened prostitutes who were often present. An excellent investigation conducted by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago in 1916-17 brings out the main points to be emphasized. The work was undertaken in order to safeguard the youths of the city against corruption by commercialized resorts. It was found that the majority of the halls were controlled

by liquor interests, and that in most cases the selling of drinks yielded the principal revenue. The dances were short and the intermissions long. Every one was supposed to drink during the interludes of the orchestra, and this frequently led to disorderly and indecent conduct. In 193 of the 213 halls visited minors were present. Persons intoxicated were noted in 144 places, and in 127 immoral dancing was permitted. In 118 cases there was indecent conduct and in fifty cases fights occurred.

In several dance halls, our investigator found immoral women soliciting for drinks and inviting their partners to accompany them to rooms outside. These places are often recruiting stations where young girls become involved with unscrupulous young men, or form the association of immoral persons of their own sex.

An idea of the demoralizing conditions prevailing at some dances may be gathered from notes on a ball conducted by an outing club in an eastern city. Arriving at the hall about midnight, we were confronted with a noisy crowd of young people; many of them were under the influence of liquor. In corners couples were embracing; in the toilets drunken men were sleeping; at the back of the hall a free-for-all fight was in progress. Several police officers were present, who did not interfere, but merely removed the unsuccessful combatants.

The placard announcing the ball is divided into a number of small spaces in which friends of the association insert advertisements. Six of them state openly that certain well-known sports will be there with their "tarts." Other spaces contain the announcements of merchants and saloonkeepers, and two of the spaces convey the

compliments of a local judge and of a magistrate. These two gentlemen arrived later in the morning to present their congratulations to the management upon the success of this stirring event.[1]

Parks, Fair Grounds and Other Amusement Resorts. These were mentioned as vicious in seven of the forty-three American vice reports. The most common complaint is that such places are often ill-lighted, remote from supervision, and sometimes frequented by undesirable persons. This makes it possible for evil-minded persons to use such places improperly and may constitute a danger to those who are uninformed, especially young people who seek recreation there. The most satisfactory type of regulation appears to be proper lighting and patrolling and the presence of police women or other persons who may act as official chaperons.

Automobiles. The automobile, as an instrument of vice, merits a paragraph to itself. As a means of introduction, seduction, abduction and induction to prostitution, it has become notorious. One of the easiest ways to find the location of bawdy houses is to ask a public chauffeur to drive there. If he does not know any open places, he may have the names of girls to whom he can recommend the traveler. His car affords swift and secret means of transportation between resorts for entertainment and for assignation. It may even serve as a place for immoral practices and be equipped for the purpose.[2] It quickly conveys the convivial beyond the

[1] See poster of J. J. Morrow Dancing Club, Philadelphia, February 16th, Exhibit F.

[2] Such "rolling road-houses" were investigated in cities Nos. 15, 20 and 40.

reach of local police, out into the open country or to gay road-houses. As a lure for young girls it is almost unrivaled. In this respect the humbler jitney and even the motorcycle have also gained an odious reputation in certain quarters.

Employment Agencies. Among business establishments which have indirectly contributed to prostitution, employment agencies have been mentioned. Five of the American vice investigations conducted between 1910 and 1916 found abuses in such places. Out of seventy-eight agencies so investigated they discovered that in forty-eight the managers were not unwilling to send girls to houses which were described as immoral. Our own investigation did not lead us to examine this matter carefully in 1917, but it was our impression that laws passed to control the management of employment agencies had greatly improved the situation.

A great deal has been said and written about vice among employees of department stores. The Senate Vice Committee of Illinois discovered certain facts in their hearings conducted in 1917. In connection with the New York State Factory Investigation of Women's Wages, dated 1913, an attempt was made to examine into this matter more carefully.[1] The result of the findings seems to show that it is impossible to state that immorality is peculiar to any class of employees, or that it has any close correlation with the amount of wages received. It is true that in certain stores a vicious atmosphere prevails, and our investigator received improper proposals

[1] *Fourth Report, Factory Investigation Commission,* Vol. 1, pages 389 and following.

from shop-girls as well as from others. So much depends upon the management and the personnel, however, that it is unsafe to make any sweeping statement regarding the morality of any occupation.

NOTE.—Tables XI, XII and XIII indicate conditions found by vice investigations in American cities before 1917 and during that year. Comparison of the data enables one quickly to determine the apparent status of leading towns at the time this account was prepared. The investigators do not claim that no other vice resorts existed in the places indicated, or that they did not exist in some of the other cities where they were not noted. These findings simply show where vicious resorts were actually discovered at the dates given.

It will be observed that many towns noted in Table XII are not mentioned as showing signs of open vice at the end of 1917. This indicates an appreciable improvement.

TABLE XI

VICE CONDITIONS FOUND IN AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS BEFORE 1917

Place	Year	Parlor Houses	Assignation Call Houses	Road-Houses	Loose Hotels	Furnished Rooms	Saloons	Cafés	Streets	Dance Halls	Theaters	Parks	Boats	Depots	Employment Agencies
Atlanta	1912	x	x						x						
Baltimore	1913	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x
Bay City	1913	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x					
Bridgeport	1916	x			x	x	x	x		x	x				
Charlestown	1913	x	x					x							
Chicago	1910	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x
Cleveland	1911	x	x		x	x	x		x						
Denver	1913				x				x						
Elmira	1913				x		x		x						
Grand Rapids	1913	x						x							
Hartford	1913						x	x	x		x			x	x
Kansas City	1911	x	x						x						
Lafayette	1913	x	x						x						
Lancaster	1914			x	x	x	x		x						
Lexington	1915	x		x	x	x	x		x						
Little Rock	1912	x													
Louisville	1915	x						x		x					
Massachusetts	1913	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x			
Minneapolis	1911				x	x		x		x					
Newark	1914	x			x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
New York	1912	x			x	x	x		x	x		x	x		
Paducah	1916	x	x	x			x		x	x					
Philadelphia	1912	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Pittsburgh	1912	x													
Portland, Me.	1913	x		x	x				x	x					
" Ore.	1912				x	x									x
Richmond	1914	x	x		x	x			x		x				
Rockland Co.	1914	x			x			x							
St. Louis	1914	x													
San Francisco	1910	x													
Springfield	1914	x	x	x	x	x									
Syracuse	1912	x			x	x	x		x			x			
Wisconsin	1914	x		x	x							x			
Total 33	1910-16	27	11	6	21	15	15	12	19	11	7	7	2	3	5

Vice Resorts

TABLE XII

VICE RESORTS NOTED IN AMERICAN CITIES IN 1917

Place	Streets	Houses	Rooms	Hotels	Saloons	Restaurants	Pool-Rooms	Dance Halls	Candy Stores
Atlanta	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Baltimore	x	x	x		x				
Bisbee		x	x						
Boston	x	x	x	x	x				
Bridgeport				x	x				
Butte	x	x	x	x		x		x	
Chicago	x	x		x	x				
Cincinnati	x	x	x	x	x				
Cleveland	x		x	x	x				
Dallas	x	x	x	x					
Denver	x	x	x	x					
Detroit	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Douglas		x	x	x		x			
El Paso	x	x	x	x	x				
Fort Worth	x	x		x	x				
Kansas City	x	x	x	x	x				
Los Angeles	x		x	x	x				
Louisville	x	x		x	x				
Memphis	x	x	x	x				x	
Minneapolis	x	x		x					
New Orleans		x							
Norfolk	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
Omaha	x	x	x	x					
Paterson		x		x	x				
Philadelphia	x	x	x	x	x			x	
Pittsburgh	x	x	x	x	x				
Portland, Me.		x	x	x		x			
" Ore.	x		x	x				x	
Providence	x		x	x	x	x			
Salt Lake City	x	x	x	x					
St. Louis	x	x	x	x	x	x			
St. Paul	x	x		x					
San Antonio	x	x	x	x	x			x	
San Diego	x		x	x	x	x			
San Francisco			x	x	x				
Savannah		x	x					x	
Seattle	x	x		x		x		x	
Toledo	x	x	x		x				
Tulsa	x	x	x	x					
Washington	x	x							
Total 40	32	33	30	33	23	10	2	8	1

TABLE XIII

VICE CONDITIONS NOTED IN AMERICAN CITIES AT THE END OF 1917

Place	Parlor Houses	Street Solicitation	Assignation Hotels	Rooming Houses	Disorderly Saloons	Doubtful Restaurants
Albany						x
Atlanta		x	x	x		
Baltimore				x	x	x
Bridgeport		x	x		x	
Butte				x		
Chicago				x	x	x
Cincinnati		x				x
Detroit					x	
Elmira				x		x
El Paso	x	x	x	x	x	x
Gary			x	x	x	x
Louisville		x	x			
Memphis	x					
Minneapolis				x		
New Orleans	x			x	x	
Norfolk		x	x	x		
Newport	x	x	x	x	x	x
Oakland		x	x	x		
Omaha	x		x	x		
Paterson	x	x	x	x	x	x
Philadelphia	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pittsburgh	x	x		x		
Portland, Me				x	x	x
Portland, Oreg.	x			x		
Providence		x		x		x
Richmond			x			
Salt Lake City				x		
San Antonio		x		x		
Seattle		x	x	x		
Tulsa				x		x
Total 30	9	14	13	23	11	13

CHAPTER VI

WHITE SLAVERY

What is White Slavery?—Extent.—Recruiting.—Importing.—Exploitation.—Profits.—White Slavers.—Checking the traffic.—The Mann Act.—The Diggs-Caminetti decision.—The revised Immigration Law of 1917.—Recommendations of the New York Grand Jury of 1910.

TEN years ago the newspapers were filled with startling accounts of the existence of a system of procuring women and girls for prostitution by means of fraud or violence, and of transporting and detaining them in vice resorts against their will. This is what is generally understood as "White Slavery." [1] Sometimes

[1] The use of the term White Slavery is a domestic application of the expression White Slave Traffic or Trade, which was the translation made by the British Government of the French term "Traite des Blanches." At the conference of fifteen European nations called in Paris in 1902, the words Traite des Blanches were used in contrast to the Traite des Noires, concerning which a convention had been held a century before for the purpose of suppressing the African slave trade.

Mr. James Bronson Reynolds, speaking before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, D. C., December 30, 1915, says: "It has been charged that the term was the fabrication of sensational newspaper writers or of sentimental philanthropists of America. The charge evidently is not founded on fact. On the contrary, the designation evidences that at least one of the high contracting parties of the European congresses, Great Britain, considered that the trade was one involving virtual slavery, while the continental countries adhered to the designation Traite des Blanches, or trade in women, a term clearly implying that the women, as objects of barter, had no free part in the transaction."

the term has been loosely applied to cover all phases of the traffic in women and made to include cases where the girls remain in the business not unwillingly, although unquestionably many of them are exploited and abused by those who derive profit from them. The latter meaning would extend the term white slavery to include practically the whole field of commercialized vice. In this sense the meaning is much broader than that in which it is used in international agreements regulating the trade in women.

It has sometimes been questioned whether a system of compulsory prostitution has ever existed in the United States. Various answers have been given by commissions appointed to investigate this matter. These appear to reflect a considerable variety of opinion, based largely upon differences in local conditions and also upon the understanding of these bodies as to what is implied by the term white slavery. We shall therefore employ the term according to the broader American usage, but in the more restricted meaning, which involves the element of compulsion, whether mental or physical. The reader will be able to judge from the context as to the particular sense in which it is used.

The report of the Massachusetts White Slave Commission, in 1914, stated that the evidence there indicated that procuring or enticing for prostitution in the state was done as a private venture and not as a part of an organized plan. It was shown that pimps and procurers did bring women from other states to practice prostitution. But the commission received no evidence

showing that any organization existed for the buying and selling of women for immoral purposes.[1]

Similarly, the Social Survey Committee of Toronto could obtain no definite information on the business of exporting Canadian girls to American cities as a regularly organized traffic.[2] The Chicago Report also states that the men and women engaged in the so-called "White Slave Traffic" are not organized, but that their operations are so similar that it is safe to infer that they, in some way, work together.[3]

Perhaps the matter is best summed up in the report of the Grand Jury in New York, which stated that they found no evidence of the existence there of any organization engaged as such in the traffic in women for immoral purposes. But they did discover that a trafficking in the bodies of women existed. This was carried on by individuals acting for their own benefit, and these persons were known to each other and more or less informally associated. Such associations and clubs were said to be analogous to commercial bodies in other fields, which "while not directly engaged in commerce are composed of individuals, all of whom are so engaged."[4]

The report of the Immigration Commission on the Importation and Harboring of Women for Immoral Purposes also brought out the fact that persons who were engaged in the business of prostitution had corre-

[1] *Report of Massachusetts White Slave Commission*, 1914, page 23.
[2] *Report of the Social Survey Committee*, Toronto, 1915, pages 14 and 15.
[3] *The Social Evil in Chicago, 1911*, page 178.
[4] See *Presentment of Grand Jury*, January Term of the Court of General Sessions, New York County, June, 1910, page 6.

spondents abroad who forwarded women to various cities in America.[1] Moreover, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce submitted evidence to show that a syndicate for the purpose of importing women in foreign countries had headquarters and distributing centers in at least eight important cities.[2]

It may, therefore, be safely stated that the traffic in women for purposes of prostitution has existed in the United States and probably still exists, although to a less extent than formerly. The weight of evidence seems to point to the fact that many of these so-called white slaves were not ignorant of the business into which they were brought and not unwilling to remain in it. Nevertheless, newspaper accounts from time to time show that women and girls have been abducted from their homes and kept in vice resorts as virtual prisoners.[3]

Extent. The Bureau of Immigration reports that 5,895 aliens have been debarred and deported from 1892 to 1918 because of their connection with the business of prostitution. Under the Mann White Slave Traffic Act, from 1910 to July 1, 1916, 2,414 prosecutions were instituted. How many instances of persons engaged in the traffic were brought before the courts of the several states we are unable to say, but these figures may give some indication of the volume of traffic of which the Federal Government has taken notice. Of recent years, the vigilance of the immigration authorities, and the diffi-

[1] See *Senate Document No. 196*, 61st Congress, Appendix VI A.
[2] See *House of Representatives Report No. 47*, 61st Congress, page 12.
[3] For instances of such methods see Clifford J. Roe, *Panders and their White Slaves*, Chapter I and *passim*.

culty of transportation due to the war, have unquestionably lessened the volume of this traffic from abroad. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that a certain amount of it still persists, and that a considerable number of native Americans have been concerned in it, not merely as victims, but also as exploiters. The returns of the immigration authorities offer data for describing certain of the features in the traffic which will be given later.

The reasons for this international and interstate traffic in women are to be found in the profits that are to be made in a prosperous new country like America. The Immigration Commission states that foreigners are attracted by the large returns to be realized here.[1] The same reasons are applicable to native men and women who profit by the business.

It is also true that new and attractive "stock," as it is sometimes called, adds enormously to the drawing power of those resorts. For this reason young and innocent girls have been brought into the business to minister to the jaded and perverted appetites of patrons.

Recruiting. The methods of recruiting women for this business may be illustrated from the records of one hundred cases of aliens deported for connection with the business of prostitution. Out of thirty cases which clearly involve seduction, force or fraud, we find that the victim was seduced under promise of marriage in eighteen cases. In some instances the man was forced to marry the girl, as in the instance of two young men who took two girls to a coffee house after the theater and drugged them. After this, they were taken to one

[1] Loc. cit., pages 6 and 7.

of the men's roles and related. Subsequently, one of the men was obliged to marry the girl of sixteen, whom he exploited by promising her an easy life, then beat her in order to keep her in it.[1] In another case of the same sort, the Greek pimp married a girl of sixteen, then took her about to labor camps and coffee houses and compelled her to prostitute herself.[2]

In some cases, the man seduced the girl and got her to go with him under promises of an easy or interesting life and then forced her on to the street or put her in a house to support him. In one case, an Italian met a young girl in a Brooklyn restaurant and persuaded her to accompany him to a rooming house where he and two confederates obliged her to submit, and kept her there for a week, virtually a prisoner, after which he obliged her to go upon the street.[3] In some instances, the men lured married women away from their homes and later put them into houses or obliged them to frequent low saloons and attract men.

Several cases of actual purchase are recorded. For instance, that of a Chinaman, who purchased a young Chinese girl for the sum of $140. He induced her to come to America by promising to educate her, and obtained her admission at Seattle by having her pass as his daughter. After landing, he took the girl to Boston in his berth and upon arrival there compelled her to receive Chinese men. He received her earnings through an agent and later sold the girl to a Chinese

[1] Bureau of Immigration No. 53510/113.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 53836/154.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 53423/376.

woman for the sum of $3,300.[1] Subsequently she was again sold to another party and was only rescued after a raid conducted by rescue mission workers.

In some cases promises of employment or actual employment were used to get the girls into the power of their exploiters. For instance, one Italian pimp met a girl in a Wisconsin town and promised to obtain for her a position in a restaurant in Chicago. Upon arriving there she found herself in a house of prostitution, a virtual slave. For months she was not permitted to leave the place unaccompanied and was forced to receive men callers sent to the place by her pimp.[2] In another instance, a Greek restaurant-keeper employed girls as waitresses and chambermaids for his establishment, and only permitted such as consented to prostitute themselves to stay on the job. The record says that this man was illiterate, coarse, crafty and one who looked upon the unfortunate women with whom he associated as "chattels" solely productive of personal pleasure and profit.[3]

These cases are perhaps sufficient to illustrate the various methods by which the procurer secures his victim. Flattery, the promise of a good position or of easy money, seduction by gaining the affection of the girl or even marriage in order to place her in his power were used. Sometimes the procurer was a woman, who by her seeming interest in the girl and her appearance of wealth and influence obtained the unsophisticated victim's confidence. A visit to the home of the woman soon revealed

[1] Bureau of Immigration, No. 54134/220.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 54012/201.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 54423/247.

the fact that the society or business into which she had promised to introduce the girl was that of the sporting world.

Importing. Many of the girls were brought from abroad by promise of a fine position or of a rich marriage on this side of the water. Seasoned prostitutes were also induced to come by the prospect of larger earnings here than in their native countries. The Immigration Commission reports the case of one young girl for whom $1,000 was paid.[1] The Mann Report states that one importer made over $100,000 by traffic in French prostitutes during the year previous to his conviction.[2] The women were usually brought in as the wives or servants of their procurers. They were thus transported to the house of some keeper and frequently obliged to work out all the expenses incidental to bringing them over.

The Chinese girls were placed in houses run by their own countrymen and were sometimes the property of the "Tongs." The Japanese girls were formerly placed in the lodging houses or tea-gardens frequented by their own countrymen. As has been previously stated, the vigilance of immigration authorities within recent years has greatly reduced such abuses.

Exploitation. Once in the power of white slavers the girl was frequently deprived of her clothes and virtually made a prisoner. She was compelled to give the greater part of her earnings to the madam or pimp and was generally kept in debt to them by exorbitant charges for clothes or service. Not infrequently she was beaten if

[1] Loc. cit., page 16.
[2] Loc. cit., page 11.

she rebelled and was practically starved into submission.

Some of the methods used in exploiting the women are brutal in the extreme. For instance, one man who married a woman and forced her into prostitution, used to take her about the Mexican labor camps. He would strip her and put her into a box car to which he charged admission for Mexican and Negro laborers.[1] In one case, the girl several times broke away from her exploiter, but was each time brought back. On each occasion she received a severe beating and finally when the pimp threatened to kill her she again ran away and escaped, but was caught and severely slashed about the arms and face with a razor. This necessitated her transfer to a hospital. One hundred and eight stitches were required to close her wounds. Upon recovering, she again came under the man's influence and resumed soliciting on the street.[2]

Such instances taken from official sources are sufficient to indicate that violence has frequently been used to gain the submission of women unwilling to prostitute themselves. Our purpose, however, is not to dilate upon these horrors, but to indicate the cause for their existence and the methods adopted to mitigate the evils.

Profits. The dangerous and disreputable trade in women has been undertaken by exploiters because of the large profits involved. The Immigration Commission records the case of one man who forfeited two bonds of $25,000 each and was probably worth $87,000.[3]

[1] Bureau of Immigration, No. 54002/32.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 54012/201.
[3] Loc. cit., page 28.

The testimony taken by this body shows that an importer who sold a girl to a disorderly housekeeper often received $500 or more—"in certain cases twice or three times that sum,"—an amount sufficient to cover the expense to which he had been put in securing the girl and a substantial profit. One of the investigators of the Commission testified that the keeper of a house of prostitution in Chicago declared that he had paid the sum of $1,000 for a certain French girl name Marcelle, and that a girl named Lillie was sent to Omaha and sold to a keeper of a house in that city for the sum of $1,400.[1] It was stated that Japanese girls could be secured in Seattle and taken to Chicago and New York for $400 each. Chinese girls were said to be worth from $2,000 to $3,000.[2] It will be seen from these figures that if a sufficient number of women could be secured and placed, the dealer was assured of a very handsome return.

It has been estimated that not less than 25,000 young girls were annually procured for purposes of prostitution in the United States, and that no less than 50,000 men and women were engaged in procuring and living on the earnings of these unfortunates.[3] It must not be assumed that all of these girls were unwilling victims or that a very large proportion were bought and sold in the open market. Nevertheless, the figures indicate that a considerable volume of profitable business existed.

White Slavers. The Bureau of Immigration permitted a member of its legal staff to analyze for us the records

[1] Loc. cit., page 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, pages 30 and 31.
[3] See Stanley Finch, *The White Slavery Traffic*, Senate Document No. 182, 62nd Congress.

of aliens deported for connection with the business of prostitution. From the files one hundred representative cases were selected in which data concerning the persons involved were reasonably complete. Not all of these, however, could properly be called instances of white slavery. Among the hundred, thirty-three cases were found in which evidence of fraud, force or duress were employed to dominate the victims. Such methods have already been described. We may now briefly consider the character of the exploiters.

Seven of these foreigners were born in Greece, six in Italy, five were Russian Jews; Austrian-Hebrews, French, Chinese, Japanese and Mexican each numbered two; the other four were scattering. Twenty-seven of these men had been in the United States more than five years, two of them thirty years and more, and only two had been here less than one year. Nineteen of these could read and write some language, and only three could not speak English. It appears from such facts that the majority of the foreign exploiters were fairly familiar with American ways.

Their occupations were various, seventeen different lines of work being mentioned. Only the nine laborers gave a predominance to any one sort of work. It is certain, however, that most of these men, after taking up the business of exploiting women, had no other regular occupation. At least six of them were recorded as pimps and procurers, and in other cases it was stated that the nominal occupation given was one which the man had not followed regularly.

On the other hand, more than half the men had been

in the business of procuring women less than three years. Only one was recorded to have been so engaged for more than ten years. Eleven of the men worked with confederates, sometimes with a gang. The other two-thirds seem to have conducted the business as a private venture. The associates of at least half of them, however, were reported to be pimps, prostitutes, gamblers and petty criminals. It is interesting also to note that twenty of the men claimed residence in rooming houses, which were often places of doubtful character. This shifting and anonymous existence seems to be characteristic of persons engaged in the business of prostitution.

Twenty-one of the men were married, although only five of them are reported to have had children. It has already been shown that eighteen of the white slavers seduced and married their wives with the evident purpose of exploiting them afterward. Sixteen of the men claimed the whole or practically all of the earnings of the prostitute who supported them. Indeed this appropriation of all the woman's earnings is perhaps a characteristic of slavery. The unfortunate prostitute is left nothing for herself and thus becomes dependent upon the whims of the person who manages her. Two of the men received lump sums of $250 and $300 respectively for delivering the women to houses of prostitution and claimed a percentage of their earnings besides.

Concerning the women who were involved in these cases, less information is available, because at least eight of them were native born and not subject to action by the immigration authorities. The majority were foreigners, Jewish and Canadian girls apparently predomi-

nating. Their ages varied from sixteen to thirty-five, more than half of them being under twenty-three years. While the majority could read and write, their education appears to have been rudimentary. Their occupations also show a very mediocre degree of ability, domestic servants outnumbering all other occupations given.

Most of these girls had been seduced by their exploiter a year or two before the matter was brought to the attention of the authorities. Soon after their seduction they were broken into the business of prostitution by their exploiter. Their earnings were usually comparaively small for prostitutes (averaging about $20 to $30 a week) despite the fact that their rapacious drivers urged them vigorously. But the majority of these women were of the lower class and were doubtless not enthusiastic in their search for trade. In about half the cases the foreign-born women were deported because of their connection with the business of prostitution, but in many instances the sentence was suspended or the victim put upon probation during good behavior.

Checking the Traffic. By invitation of the French Government, representatives of sixteen different nations assembled in Paris, July 25, 1902, to draft an international treaty for the protection of women and girls against the white slave traffic. This agreement was ratified on May 18, 1904, by ten nations and later by five others. By resolution of the United States Senate, dated March 1, 1905, this country became an adherent to the agreement, and such adherence was made official by the Presidential proclamation dated June 15, 1908.

The provisions of this treaty are to the effect that the

various nations shall establish some authority to centralize all information concerning the procuration of women or girls with a view to their debauchery in a foreign country. Each of the governments agrees to exercise supervision of the immigration and transportation of women and girls. It also agrees to receive into institutions and care for such foreign women as are found and to return them to their own country. These measures have made it possible for the signatory states to attack the traffic in women with a more united front.

The immigration law of the United States declares that prostitutes, persons who are supported by the earnings of prostitution and those who attempt to import women for immoral purposes shall be excluded. It is further declared a felony to import women for such purposes, under penalty of ten years' imprisonment, a fine of $5,000, or both. A clause in the immigration law of 1910, which declared it a felony to harbor a foreign woman in a resort of prostitution, was pronounced unconstitutional by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Keller,[1] it being held that punishment for such offense was already within the jurisdiction of the several states.

By the provision of the Mann White Slave Traffic Act of June 25, 1910, it was further forbidden to transport women for immoral purposes in interstate or foreign commerce or to assist in procuring transportation for the same. To persuade or induce a woman to go from state to state across the lines for immoral purposes was also made punishable by imprisonment for five years

[1] 213 *United States Reports* 138.

and a fine of $5,000, or both. In the case of a girl under eighteen, this penalty is doubled. The Commissioner of Immigration was designated as the person to receive information concerning the transportation of alien women according to the terms of the international treaty just referred to. The law further provided that every person who harbored a foreign girl should fill out a statement concerning her, under penalty of two years' imprisonment and a fine of $2,000, or both. It should be said that the operation of this last provision was not effective, because in filing such a statement the person who harbored the woman might make herself liable under the existing state law.

It has already been shown how prosecution under the Mann Act and deportation by the immigration authorities has caught in the net thousands of persons engaged in the traffic of women. The decision of the Supreme Court in 1917 on the Diggs-Caminetti case[1] confirmed the

[1] By the terms of the Mann Act it is not apparently intended to cover merely the so-called white slave cases. Sec. 2 reads, "That any person who shall knowingly transport or cause to be transported or aid or assist in obtaining transportation for or in transporting in interstate or foreign commerce or in any territory or in the District of Columbia, any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, *or for any other immoral purpose, etc.*"

The Diggs-Caminetti decision speaks on this point as follows: "In *U. S. vs. Bitty, 208 U. S., 393,* it was held that the act of Congress against the importation of alien women and girls for the purpose of prostitution 'and any immoral purpose' included the importation of an alien woman to live in concubinage with a person importing her. In that case this Court said: 'All will admit that full effect must be given to the intention of Congress as gathered from the words of the statute. There can be no doubt as to what class was aimed at by the clause forbidding the importation of alien women for purposes of prostitution. It refers to women who, for hire or without hire, offer their bodies to indiscriminate intercourse with men. . . . Now the addition in the last statute of the words *or for any other immoral* purpose after the word *prostitution* must have

authority of the law to deal with cases where transportation of women across state lines was not for the purpose of exploiting, but might merely contemplate personal indulgence. This reasonable interpretation of the White Slave Act to cover the cases of immorality where the parties involved crossed state lines has been popularly regretted and criticized in some quarters, but by the majority of right-thinking citizens it has been applauded as a means of lessening the traffic in women under any excuse.

In order to check up the efficiency of the Mann Act, the Department of Justice organized under its Bureau of Investigation an enumeration of prostitutes in 310 cities in twenty-six states. Officers secured the name, origin and destination of women who were constantly moving about from one place to another. In this way the Bureau attempted to prevent the shipment of unwilling women across state lines. Their work, however, was rendered more difficult by the closing of the recognized districts,

been made for some practical object. Those added words show beyond question that Congress had in view the protection of society against another class of alien women other than those who might be brought here merely for purposes of prostitution. In forbidding the importation of alien women for other immoral purposes, Congress evidently thought that there were purposes in connection with the importation of alien women which, as in the case of importations for prostitution, were to be deemed immoral.' The definition of an immoral purpose was given prior to the enactment of the act now under consideration and must be presumed to have been known to Congress when it enacted the law here involved (referring to the Mann Act). . . . When words are free from doubt they must be taken as a final expression of the legislative intent and are not to be added to or subtracted from by considerations drawn from titles or designating names or reports accompanying their introduction, or from any extraneous source. In other words, the language being plain and not leading to absurd or wholly impracticable consequences it is the sole evidence of the ultimate legislative intent."

so that, after 1913, the records kept by the so-called white slave officer in the various cities ceased to be of much use in securing adequate information concerning those persons who entered and left the town for purposes of prostitution.

To supplement Federal legislation practically all the states have passed laws against compulsory prostitution of women and also pandering. These vary greatly in the different jurisdictions and generally cover a much larger field than what we have designated as white slavery strictly speaking. The efficiency of such laws depends largely upon the determination of the administration to enforce them.

The more important recommendations of the Immigration Commission regarding the importation and harboring of women for immoral purposes were practically all included in the revised immigration law of 1917. The recommendations of the Grand Jury of the January Term of the Court of General Sessions (New York, 1910) have in large measure been carried out in New York State. But in order to emphasize some of the features which are not adequately met in other jurisdictions, we may here briefly enumerate the points:[1]

1. It was urged that no effort be spared in bringing to justice the so-called pimp.

This recommendation has been met by laws which make it a misdemeanor for any male person to live upon the earnings of prostitution or to solicit for immoral purposes.[2]

[1] See *Presentment*, pages 15 and 16.
[2] See *Penal Law*, 1148.

The transportation of women and girls in and out of the state for immoral purposes is declared a felony, punishable by as much as twenty years' imprisonment and a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars.

Any person who places a female in a house of prostitution may be likewise punished, and any one who induces a woman or girl to enter such a place is liable to the same penalty.

Any one who pays or who receives money for causing any woman to commit immoral acts is also guilty of a felony.

Finally, any person who restrains a female in a house of prostitution or who wrongfully appropriates any of her belongings is likewise guilty of a felony.[1]

Such stringent laws, if actively enforced, would unquestionably do away with much of the activity of pimps and panderers.

2. The second point urged by the jury was that more rigid supervision be given to safeguard the patrons of moving picture shows, especially children.

It has frequently been remarked by vice investigators that in the darkness and crowding of the old type of picture shows indecent liberties were sometimes taken with young children. Such action frequently led to the seduction and corruption of the child. Of late years provisions requiring adequate lighting and preventing the presence of young children unattended, as well as more careful censorship of the films themselves, have greatly lessened the danger from this source.

3. The third recommendation was that efforts be made

[1] See *Penal Law* 2460.

to minimize the possibilities of the so-called Raines Law Hotel becoming a disorderly house.

Such hotels were places where rooms were let to transient occupants in conjunction with what was practically a saloon. It is obvious that these resorts offered abundant opportunities for seducing women after they had been made to drink in the cafés. The efforts of the Committee of Fourteen to suppress such disorderly resorts, with the assistance of the brewers and bonding companies, has practically put them out of business in New York.

4. The fourth recommendation was that so-called "massage and manicure parlors" be put under the Health Department, and that a license be required for their operation.

This measure was also effective in closing many places where improper relations were carried on under the cover of a respectable practice.

5. The fifth point urged that laws relating to prostitution in apartments and tenement houses be rigidly enforced.

This measure was particularly necessary in New York City, because prostitutes can easily hide away in a great congregate dwelling, unless vigorous means are taken to find them. The provision of heavier penalties for using tenement-houses for immoral purposes, also laws which hold the owner responsible, have lessened the danger of this evil.

6. The last recommendation of the jury was that a Commission be appointed to make a study of laws relating to and the methods of dealing with the social evil in

this country and Europe, with a view to advising the most effective means of minimizing the evil.

The result of this recommendation was the organization of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, a private agency, which ever since its inception has continuously studied the problem of prostitution, and has presented some of the results of its findings in the series of which this volume forms a part.

CHAPTER VII

VENEREAL DISEASE

The diseased prostitute.—Extent in general population.—Army and Navy data.—Hospitals and clinics.—Other groups.—Private physicians.—Special groups.—Mortality statistics.—Character of patients.—Stages of disease.—Results of disease.—Registration of all cases of venereal disease.—Examination of prostitutes.—Examination of men.—Hospitals and dispensaries.—Marriage certificates.—Quack doctors.—Future of venereal disease control.

ONE of the most serious features of prostitution is the important part it plays in the spread of gonorrhea and syphilis. The prostitute is undoubtedly the most active single medium for the transmission of infection, because she herself is usually contaminated early in her career and rapidly passes on the germs of disease to her many visitors. They in turn spread the virus among other persons. So these dangerous maladies have gained wide dispersion throughout society, bringing disgrace and suffering to many men, and entailing disability and death upon innocent women and children.

We have already presented data concerning the frequency of venereal infection among professional prostitutes.[1] It will be observed that the proportion of disease found varies with the age and experience of the women examined, as well as with the care and skill of the medical authorities who examine them, but it is safe

[1] Chapter II, pages 54 and 55.

to assume that at least from 60 per cent to 75 per cent have a venereal taint.

With these groups of diseased women, on the one hand, scattered throughout our country as the foci of infection, and, on the other hand, their hundreds of thousands of patrons, how far has the virus spread throughout the community as a whole? This is a question we cannot answer with certainty, for the simple reason that there is no complete record of all cases. In a previous chapter we have pointed out that for each professional prostitute, according to her status, there are probably from four to fifty men who patronize her daily. Mr. Kneeland in 1912 estimated that each day in the city of New York alone an army of 150,000 men indulged in sexual relations with these women.[1] This does not include the patrons of clandestine prostitutes, who may have as few as one or two visitors a week. We cannot, however, assume that all the patrons exposed contract the disease, and the number of exposures, therefore, cannot be taken as an index of disease among the general population.

In the absence of laws compelling the registration of all cases of venereal disease and prescribing means for their enforcement, the best we have been able to do in the past has been to form estimates, based upon percentages found in special groups of our population, such as in the Army and Navy Reports, from hospitals and clinics, and from records made by private physicians. Among these groups the Army and Navy furnish the greatest number of cases. Not because soldiers and sailors are worse offenders than others, but because we

[1] See Chapter III, page 78.

have here a large group of generally healthy men for whom the statistics of all diseases have been accurately kept.

Army and Navy Data. In his last report made before our entrance into the war, the Surgeon-General of the Army gives the data for the calendar year 1916. The report shows that the rate of hospital admissions for all venereal diseases among officers and enlisted men in the United States Army varied from 19.05 at West Point to 220 per thousand at Fort Sam Houston, Texas.[1] The average rate for the total American troops was 103.35 per thousand men.[2]

The reason for the unusually high rate at Fort Sam Houston was the mobilization there, under laxer discipline and with the presence of a larger proportion of colored regiments, of the great mass of the troops for service on the Mexican border. In 1915 the rate at this fort was 167.83, while for the entire army it was 107.71 per thousand. The Annual Report for the Navy shows that for the same year, 1916, the average hospital admission rate was 139.9 per thousand men.[3]

It will thus be seen that among presumably healthy males of military age the rate of infection in this country ranges from 1.9 to 22 per cent, according to group and location. It must be borne in mind, however, that the military age is the age at which infection is most likely to occur. We must distinguish also between re-

[1] *Report of the Surgeon-General of the United States Army*, pages 72 and 73.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 69.
[3] *Report of the Surgeon-General of the United States Navy*, 1917, page 65.

cently acquired infections which are treated in the Army and Navy, and those long standing cases which are discovered upon examination for the service. It is generally agreed that men who have been accustomed to the regulations of our military forces are less likely to suffer from the effects of venereal infection than civilians who are not under the discipline of the Army and Navy. This is borne out by the fact that for the years 1914-1916 the average ratios of infections in the five recruiting depots of the Army averaged 112.1 per thousand, as against 107.25 in the Army as a whole.

Hospitals and Clinics. Another source of information is to be had from the clientele of hospitals and dispensaries. In the examination of over 15,000 cases in six cities, 1,450 positive Wassermanns, or 9.5 per cent of the whole number, were found by Jeans.[1] From the survey of 14,000 examinations in eight hospitals, Vedder gives 21.9 per cent as syphilitic.[2] In considering hospital data, however, it must be remembered that the group is a selected one, being composed of those who seek treatment where special facilities are to be found. Moreover, the patients are almost exclusively adults. For these reasons we should assume that the proportion of venereal disease would be higher in such a morbid adult group than in the general population. Consequently, we cannot say, upon the basis of such testimony alone, that from ten to twenty per cent of the urban population is syphilitic.

[1] *Syphilis and its Relation to Infant Mortality. American Journal of Syphilis,* January, 1919, pages 114-125.
[2] See *Syphilis and Public Health,* pages 53-65.

Other Groups. There are other tests which may be applied. For instance, Jeans found that 9.7 per cent of over 5,000 pregnant married women admitted to five hospitals, gave positive Wassermanns.[1] Among the insane, over 20 per cent of the cases among white males in five states showed positive reactions.[2] Among consumptives Vedder found from 20 to 30 per cent syphilitic,[3] and among backward children as high as 40 per cent.[4]

Private Physicians. There is great variation in the proportion of venereal disease encountered and treated by physicians in different places. Estimates based upon such data are apt to fluctuate widely, because the type of practice and the character of the practitioner will determine the volume of venereal infection which comes to the doctor's attention. It is therefore unsafe to apply such incomplete returns as an index to the total population. We may, however, mention the partial census of cases made by inquiry among physicians in Syracuse.[5]

Upon the basis of 3,338 cases treated by ninety doctors in 1910, the investigators estimated that 4,412 persons, or 3.21 per cent of the total population, were infected during the course of the year. Allowing a term of ten years' duration for the disease, and reducing the estimate for reinfections, the committee concluded that from 35 per cent to 40 per cent of the men and boys, and from 10 to 13 per cent of the women and girls in Syracuse were or had been infected. This is about six times

[1] See Jeans, loc. cit., page 115.
[2] Vedder, loc. cit., page 99.
[3] *Ibid.*, page 96.
[4] *Ibid.*, page 100.
[5] See *Report of Moral Survey Committee*, pages 62 and 63.

the amount of tuberculosis, as estimated for the same year.

Although reporting by physicians is admittedly incomplete, 71,338 cases of syphilis, and 34,757 cases of gonorrhea were recorded by the Department of Health in New York City during the years from 1912 to 1916 inclusive.[1] Taking the new cases reported in 1916 as representative, the rate of infection for syphilis would be 3.5 per thousand population per annum, which is higher than that for any other infectious disease, except measles. The returns for gonorrhea are obviously defective.

Special Groups. There are, moreover, great variations between the amount of venereal disease encountered amongst different elements of the population. For instance, the returns of the Surgeon-General of the Army show greater prevalence of venereal disease among the colored men than among the white, the proportions being, in 1916, as 156.82 to 90.34.[2] This same phenomenon has been noted by others amongst the civil population.[3] There is also a considerable variation between the incidence of such diseases in urban and rural communities. In his study of this question, Mr. P. L. Vogt shows that the relative prevalence of infection appears much less in the country than in the cities and villages.[4] The Federal Mortality Statistics for 1916 show that syphilis is less prevalent, or less fatal, in the country, but the Sur-

[1] *Weekly Bulletin, N. Y. City Dept. of Health*, May 24, 1919.
[2] *Report of Surgeon-General of Army*, 1917, page 71.
[3] See for example, E. P. Boas, *Relative Prevalence of Syphilis Amongst Negroes and Whites, Social Hygiene*, September, 1915, pages 612-616.
[4] *Rural Mortality, Social Hygiene*, March, 1915, pages 212 and 213.

geon-General's report shows that for the Army in 1917 more cases of gonorrhea were found among rural recruits than among urban soldiers.[1]

All such data seem to show that at least ten per cent of the population groups sampled show traces of syphilis. If then we assume that gonorrhea is from two to three times as prevalent as the former disease[2] and allow for duplication, it would not be rash to say that from 25 per cent to 35 per cent of our adult urban population is, or has been, venerally infected. Such estimates are much lower than those commonly assumed, some of which indicate that half the population has been infected by syphilis and that practically all adult males have at some time suffered from gonorrhea.

Mortality Statistics. To a considerable extent the seriousness of all diseases is measured by their place in mortality tables. Examining, then, the records for the most serious of the venereal diseases—syphilis—we find, according to the mortality statistics of the United States in 1916, that 6,902 deaths were diagnosed as directly due to this cause. This is a rate of 9.6 per hundred thousand for the registration area. It is clear that not all

[1] Report dated 1918, page 199.

[2] The Surgeon-General's report for the Army for the year 1916 shows the following proportion for the three venereal diseases among white and colored troops: (Loc. cit., page 71.)

	REPORT PER THOUSAND MEAN STRENGTH	
Disease	White	Colored
Syphilis	17.99	45.84
Chancroid	18.02	18.09
Gonorrhea	54.32	92.88
All three diseases	90.34	156.82

deaths which were due more or less directly to the effects of syphilitic infection were attributed to this as their real cause, but as due to some other complaint which in fact may have arisen as a consequence of syphilis. Among the causes of death directly attributable to syphilis are general paralysis of the insane and locomotor ataxia. If to the mortality rate for syphilis in 1916 we add the 6,867 deaths due to these two causes, the figure for syphilis is doubled.

With this mortality rate for the United States as a whole, let us compare that of the wage-earners insured by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.[1] According to their returns for the years 1911 to 1916, inclusive, 8.7 per hundred thousand persons died of syphilis. If with this group we include also the mortality from locomotor ataxia and paresis, the rate is increased to 14.3 per hundred thousand. We therefore see that the selected group of urban wage-earners corresponds very closely in this respect with the general population of the United States. It should be noted, however, that the figures in both cases are minima, because many other diseases, such as cirrhosis of the liver, aneurism, myelitis, cerebral tumor and others are often due to syphilis, but the exact proportion of such cases attributable to syphilitic infection cannot be definitely stated.

Mortality statistics for the other venereal diseases are practically worthless as indicative of the extent of infection, because comparatively few deaths are due directly

[1] L. I. Dublin, *Mortality Statistics of Insured Wage Earners*, pages 237-240.

to gonorrhea, and chancroid is simply a painful local affection.

Character of Patients. Even though we are unable to do more than estimate the prevalence of venereal disease in the general population and point out its seriousness as a cause of death, as we have attempted to do in the preceding sections, enough data have been assembled to emphasize the grave dangers of these diseases, irrespective of their influence on mortality.

Are there any special classes in the community, aside from the prostitutes, in which the diseases are most likely to be found?

The character of those infected may be indicated by the returns of the Advisory Clinic in New York for the years 1915-1918.[1] Among 13,524 people advised, 12,582, or 92.8 per cent, were males. 10,882, or 74.6 per cent of all persons, declared themselves unmarried. Accordingly, it is evident from these, as from other similar data, that unmarried males are the most numerous sufferers from venereal disease and the most frequent carriers of it. Married women are often the victims of contamination by their husbands, perhaps 80 per cent of the cases among matrons being due to marital infection.[2]

Returns from two New York clinics show that over 41 per cent of the patients treated were from 21 to 25 years of age, and that nearly 40 per cent of them were of foreign birth.[3] The foreign origin of such a large proportion is probably due in a measure to the fact that

[1] *Weekly Bulletin of the Department of Health*, May 24, 1919.
[2] See Jeans, loc. cit.
[3] See Barringer and Platt, *Survey of Venereal Clinics in New York City, Social Hygiene*, June, 1915, page 352.

immigrants are more apt than natives to seek public institutions for treatment. But these data also indicate the danger of infection incurred by unattached young persons with liberal views of sexual relations.

From the same source we learn that over 60 per cent of the patients were engaged in skilled occupations. Such data also vary according to the location and character of dispensaries. But so much may serve to show that venereal disease is not confined to any class in the population. Private physicians generally treat those persons who are not obliged to seek public clinics or who do not wish to do so.

As to source of infection, 7,966 of the men advised in the New York City Clinic indicated the probable origin of their maladies. Nearly sixty-one hundred, or over 76 per cent, attributed the infection to public prostitutes; 1,375, or over 17 per cent, to clandestine prostitutes; and 512, or 6.4 per cent, to other sources. Other returns also indicate that the public prostitute is the greatest source of infection.[1]

Obviously, the place of contamination and the character of the women who transmit it will vary with the policy in various cities. Where open brothels are permitted, they are the most fruitful source of contamination. But where such resorts are not allowed, clandestine women will naturally prove the most fertile source of infection. It is also evident that many men do not know the real source of their trouble and are frequently unable to define the character of the women from whom

[1] C. E. Riggs, *Study of Venereal Prophylaxis in the Navy, Social Hygiene*, July, 1917, page 303. *Report of Philadelphia Vice Commission*, page 125.

they presumably contracted the disease. Many clandestine prostitutes pose as married women, and ordinary street walkers sometimes give the impression that they only occasionally lapse.

Stages of Disease. Reports of physicians concerning the character of the diseases generally show that it is more often the advanced stages of syphilis that are discovered upon examination, rather than the primary symptoms of the disease. From this fact it is evident that the infection has been received some weeks, or even months, previously, and has had time to permeate the system before the case is brought to the attention of medical practitioners. In many cases the patient has had no treatment; in others he has attempted to deal with the disease himself or with the assistance of a druggist. In such ways the infection becomes fixed and the disease more difficult to handle.

Results of Disease. The results of an infection so widely spread are most serious. The least important from the point of view of numbers involved are the accidentally infected. It is well known that while most venereal infection is due to sex relations, it may be transmitted accidentally by contact, such as hand-shaking and kissing, or that it may be acquired innocently in other ways, such as the use of common towels or drinking-cups. Physicians are also exposed to the danger of contamination through accidental incision during operations upon diseased persons, or nurses may be infected in caring for venereal patients.[1] It has already been said that syphilis is responsible for practically all cases of general paralysis and of locomotor ataxia. Jeans estimates that 75 per cent of the off-

[1] Vedder, *Syphilis and Public Health*, pages 135-159.

spring in syphilitic families are infected; that 30 per cent of the pregnancies terminate in death at or before term—a waste three times greater than is found in non-syphilitic families—and that 30 per cent of living births in syphilitic families die in infancy, as compared with the normal rate of 15 per cent in the same class of the general population. Probably 25 per cent to 30 per cent of clinically syphilitic infants die as a result of this disease.[1] The disease is transmitted in full virulence to the offspring. If the child survives, the infection may result in constitutional weakness or in feeblemindedness.

Gynecologists state that 80 per cent of all deaths due to inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, practically all purulent inflammation of tubes and ovaries, and 75 per cent of all special operations performed upon the pelvic organs of women, are the result of gonococcus infection. Of the women thus infected, perhaps 50 per cent are rendered absolutely and irremediably sterile.[2] Gonorrhea is responsible for from 20 per cent to 30 per cent of blindness among children.[3] The suffering and cost of the lifelong dependency which often results cannot be stated in terms of money.

Registration. In order to know the exact number of venereal cases in any given community, it would be necessary to register every one suffering from such disease. Laws requiring such registration were in effect in thirteen states before 1917. During that year six others passed

[1] Jeans, *Syphilis and its Relation to Infant Mortality, American Journal of Syphilis*, January, 1919, page 122.
[2] See D. R. Hooker, *Report of Committee on Social Evil*, Baltimore, 1911.
[3] See *Monthly Bulletin*, Philadelphia Dept. of Health, June, 1917; *Report Philadelphia Vice Commission*, 1913, page 139.

regulations requiring such infection to be reported to the health authorities. In addition, a number of cities throughout the country passed ordinances to this effect under the general police power of the Board of Health. Fifteen out of thirty-nine cities considered in our tour had measures of this sort; but it was generally agreed that registration is imperfect and incomplete. In most places a record of the cases is kept by numbers or initials only, which prevents certainty of identification. There is some danger of duplication of entries unless names and addresses are given.

The most serious difficulty is to persuade doctors to give notification of cases treated by them. In New York City, for instance, more than 20,000 cases were reported in the year 1916, but only thirty-nine of these were turned in directly by private physicians. Another indication of the defectiveness of the records is that the number of cases of gonorrhea is fewer than those of syphilis, which is contrary to medical experience, the latter disease being much more widely spread than the former. In San Francisco, from July, 1914, to July, 1916, only 197 cases of gonorrhea were reported; and for the entire state of Louisiana in 1915, only 125.

The most promising method adopted to gain the confidence of physicians has been to permit them to submit smears and samples of blood for laboratory tests. In this way they become accustomed to sending records to the health authorities, and gradually their prejudice against communicating such facts is overcome. The education of the public as to the need of such records will

also have its effect in a demand for accurate data as a measure of self-protection.

Examination of Prostitutes. The serious character of these diseases, both to the individual infected and to the group in which he finds himself, has led to various methods of combating them. Among such methods of control we may first note the periodical examination of registered prostitutes. This plan has been tried in more than a dozen American cities, and has been abandoned,[1] at least in so far as it was connected with the policy of segregation. In Europe, where reglementation is common, the system has long been employed. Flexner states as his conclusion that the plan there has failed.[2] Some of the reasons for this failure may be briefly stated:

1. It is almost impossible to examine all prostitutes. As has already been shown, a comparatively small proportion of the women are registered with the police, and the others ply their trade without much control. We have seen that in towns where districts were established a large number of clandestine prostitutes were scattered throughout the community. Even of those who remained in the red-light district, not all were regularly subjected to examination. Women disliked the procedure and used various excuses to postpone the ordeal. For these two reasons, a large number escaped systematic inspection.

2. As usually applied, the examination of prostitutes has been unsatisfactory, because of haste or carelessness on the part of the physician. In a southern city, for instance, the writer was present at a clinic in which a

[1] See Chapter I, pages 26*ff*, and Chapter IV, pages 133*ff*.
[2] See *Prostitution in Europe*, Chapter VII.

doctor examined 26 prostitutes in less than an hour, and found only one diseased. It is obvious that a diagnosis from such hasty clinical observation could not be regarded as conclusive. Microscopic examination of smears and adequate blood tests are required in order to be sure of the patient's health. Such procedure requires time and care.

It has frequently been the case that physicians with little experience or reputation have accepted the position of examiner because it offered them a post not sought by older and more skilled practitioners. These younger men are not always well equipped to detect and treat venereal symptoms, and because of such uncertainty in the findings of the sanitary officers, no great confidence can be placed in their certification of freedom from disease. We have already mentioned an instance in which the authorities discovered 20 per cent of active infection among women who were in possession of health cards from the examining doctors.

3. Even should prostitutes be found absolutely free from disease, they might readily transmit it during the interval between examinations. The ordinary rule in this country was to require women to be inspected weekly or bi-weekly. But we have already seen that an ordinary prostitute may entertain more than one hundred men during a fortnight. If, then, she were pronounced clean to-day, she might acquire the germs of disease to-morrow and transmit them to scores of customers before her condition was again observed.

4. When found diseased, comparatively few of the women have been "laid off." This is for two reasons.

First, because the temporary retirement of from one-third to a half of the women in open resorts each fortnight would have greatly embarrassed the business. In the second place, there were practically no cities in the United States where the clinical and hospital facilities were sufficient to accommodate even those persons who were suffering from the active stages of venereal infection. The treatment has been brief and inadequate and the control of the women was in most cases imperfect. The prostitute had merely to leave town or even to seek another neighborhood in order to escape the surveillance of the police. From her new center of operation she could then begin the dissemination of disease.

5. Even assuming that all diseased prostitutes could be discovered and controlled by the authorities, there still remains the problem of the male carrier of infection. The prostitute has sometimes been compared to the mosquito, which carries the germs of yellow fever and malaria. It would perhaps be more accurate to regard her as a pool, in which the germs of disease breed, and from which they are carried by her numerous visitors. We have seen that the ratio of diseased men to women is as eight or nine to one. Any system, therefore, which attempts to eradicate venereal infection must also control the spread of these diseases by men.

Examination of Men. Because of the failure of the inspection of women to preserve health among the troops, the military authorities have established a method of prophylaxis. This consists in the administration of silver salts and calomel ointment immediately upon the return of the man who has been exposed to infection. Should

venereal disease later develop, failure to report exposure renders the man liable to discipline for disabilities incurred not in the line of duty. It appears that when the treatment is applied within three hours after exposure, very few cases of disease are developed. The longer the treatment is delayed the greater the number of men who are incapacitated.[1]

TABLE XIV

NUMBER OF TREATMENTS, FAILURES, AND PERCENTAGES FOR EACH HOUR AFTER EXPOSURE

Hours Subsequent to Exposure	Number of Treatments	Number of Infections		Per Cent of Infections
1	1180	1		0.08
2	1172	7		0.59
3	521	4		0.77
4	330	2		0.61
5	199	3		1.57
6	321	5		1.58
7	277	6		2.27
8	390	16		4.22
9	283	10		3.62
10	214	11		5.14
More than 10	216	16		7.10
Total	5103	81	Average	1.58

It sometimes occurs that the post where treatment is given is far removed from the place where contamination is incurred. The returns for posts on the Pacific Coast, where men had to catch late trains or ferries back from the city, show a particularly high rate. If it were possible to have every man treated immediately after exposure to infection, it would be apparently simple to check the spread of venereal disease. There are, however, certain

[1] Riggs, *Venereal Prophylaxis in the Navy, Social Hygiene*, July, 1917, page 308.

apparent difficulties which prevent the system from being thoroughly effective.

In the first place, many men are exposed to contamination while under the influence of alcohol. In Riggs' study, just cited, of 458 venereal infections considered, 150, or almost a third, were contracted while under the influence of alcohol. Under such circumstances the man neglects or forgets to cleanse himself and the infection gains a start. It is partly for this reason that furnishing the men themselves with prophylactic packages is not now favored.

Whether or not the method of prophylaxis has been successful is in some minds a matter of doubt. Ravanel quotes the following damage rate per thousand men in the Navy before and after prophylaxis propaganda, to show that very little improvement is evident.[1]

	Gonorrhea	Chancroid	Syphilis
Six years preceding prophylaxis....	1.06	0.440	3.59
Six years subsequent to prophylaxis	1.47	0.451	3.21

The admission rate makes a worse showing, but is misleading, owing to the fact that a new method of reporting the sick, adopted in 1909, apparently greatly increases the admission for venereal disease. Nevertheless, Holcomb, who was one of the originators of the method in the Navy, is of the opinion that the system has failed and believes that any improvement is due to the better method of treating syphilis, rather than to prophylaxis.[2]

[1] See *Prophylaxis of Venereal Disease, Social Hygiene*, April, 1917. The damage rate is the average number of men per thousand incapacitated for a year. See Holcomb, *Have We Effective Venereal Prophylaxis, Social Hygiene*, January, 1918, pages 55 and following.

[2] See R. S. Holcomb, Military Surgeon, 1916, Vol. XXXVIII, pages 30 and 344.

From his studies on the Mexican border, Exner came to the conclusion that the numbers of exposures and infections increase in proportion with the accessibility of prostitutes.[1] The following table, furnished through the courtesy of the Surgeon of the Western Department, shows the mean strength of command, the total number of venereal cases and the number of prophylactic treatments given in twenty-three army posts during the year 1916.

The most remarkable fact of this table is the large number of exposures recorded for Camp Beacom, Calexico. This place is directly across the border from a Mexican town which was notoriously loose in the matter of open prostitution.

It is generally admitted that even under army discipline not all men who have been exposed to venereal infection report for prophylactic treatment. Some of them apply to private physicians or attempt to treat themselves. In these ways, some cases avoid detection in routine examination. In the case of ignorant civilians the situation is much worse. Of 1,864 persons who visited the New York Advisory Clinic in 1917, 375 (over 20 per cent) had either received no treatment or had consulted druggists and quack doctors.[2] So the disease often becomes fixed, and is treated only when distressing advanced symptoms appear. Sometimes the patient does not know that he has been infected and may spread the disease widely before his case is brought under control.

[1] See *Prostitution and its Relation to the Army, Social Hygiene*, April, 1917, page 215.
[2] Data furnished by the Clinic.

TABLE XV

VENEREAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR

1916

Western Department, U. S. Army

	Mean Strength of Command	Venereal Cases	Contracted Prior to Enlistment	Acquired Prior to Arrival at Post	Previously Reported	Prophylactic Treatments
Fort Baker, Cal.	226	35	2	0	5	344
Fort Barry, Cal.	179	21	0	5	0	70
Fort Casey, Wash.	336	14	0	1	2	271
Fort Douglas, Utah	109	3	0	1	0	41
Fort Flagler, Wash.	272	12	0	0	1	222
Fort George Wright, Wash.	194	28	0	2	2	213
Fort Lawton, Washington	252	34	0	2	1	427
Fort Miley, Cal.	195	6	0	1	0	123
Presidio of Monterey, Cal.	246	43	1	22	3	108
Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.	542	26	1	3	0	556
Fort Rosecrans, Cal.	311	23	0	15	0	239
Fort Stevens, Ore.	291	11	0	0	0	125
Vancouver Barracks, Wash.	641	39	2	3	4	702
Fort Wm. H. Seward, Alaska	212	10	0	3	1	177
Fort Worden, Wash.	639	40	1	7	5	356
Fort Winfield Scott, Cal.	936	101	2	1	8	994
Camp John H. Beacom, Calexico, Cal.	302	31	1	4	2	1319
Tecate, Cal. (Aug. 16 to Dec. 31, 1916)	63	0	0	0	0	10
Fort Liscum, Alaska	97	3	0	3	1	50
Camp W. R. Taliaferro (2nd Batt., 21st Inf.)	349	7	0	2	0	176
Camp L. J. Hearn (1st Batt., 21st Inf.)	85	7	0	4	0	80
Fort Gibbon, Alaska	210	3	0	0	0	53
Fort Ward, Wash.	125	14	0	0	0	94
	6812	511	10	79	35	6750

Hospitals and Dispensaries. To meet this situation some communities have seen the necessity for opening dispensaries and hospital wards for the free treatment of venereal disease, seeking in this way to bring a larger number of infected persons under the care of competent physicians. Of thirty-nine cities visited during 1917, twenty-six afforded hospital facilities for the treatment of serious conditions arising from venereal disease. In only eight, however, was special service for this type of cases found. In most instances, syphilitic patients might be admitted to regular surgical or medical wards according to the type of advanced symptoms. A few hospitals did not accept venereal cases, and several refused to be bothered with those suffering from gonorrhea. It was generally admitted that the number of beds for venereal disease was insufficient to meet local needs.[1]

In many cases it is not necessary for the patient to remain in a hospital, if he can be continuously treated for a sufficiently long period outside. This fact has led to the establishment of dispensaries which endeavor to control ambulatory cases. Twenty-nine of thirty-nine cities visited in 1917 had genito-urinary clinics under public or private auspices, where venereal diseases were treated, while in other places venereal patients were received in various clinics according to the special nature of

[1] In New York City, "of thirty general hospitals, only three receive patients with recognized cases of syphilis in actively infectious stages. Only nine receive adult patients with gonorrheal infection." (See Ravanel, *Prophylaxis of Venereal Disease, Social Hygiene*, April, 1917, page 187.) Weber found similar restrictions in hospitals of the State outside of New York City. (See *Social Hygiene*, January, 1917, pages 97 and following.) See also *Report of Massachusetts White Slave Commission*, 1914, page 48.

their complaints. Most of the dispensaries were free or asked only a small fee for dressings and medicine. A charge was generally made for salvarsan.

Such dispensaries play an important part in checking venereal disease. Platt says that in 1913, 1,250,000 persons were treated in 122 clinics in New York City.[1] But some dispensaries leave much to be desired in their appointment and administration. Dr. Chargin states that of forty such places investigated in 1916 and 1917, less than half measured up to the standards required by the Associated Out-Patient Clinics.[2]

The principal difficulty is to secure continuous and prolonged attendance of the patients. Most persons will continue treatment until the obvious symptoms of their disease have been checked, and after that their visits grow irregular or cease. In four clinics in New York City that stand among the best, the results for gonorrhea were:

8% of patients discharged.....as cured,
17% ceased treatment.....improved,
75% ceased treatment.....unimproved.

These seventy-five per cent made one-half of the total visits to the clinic.[3]

In Boston, Davis reported 11.4 per cent of 450 cases of gonorrhea treated at the Boston dispensary as cured. Dr. Sanford reported a series treated at the Lake Side Hospital Dispensary in Cleveland, in which twelve per cent were cured. These results are far from encouraging

[1] See Barringer and Platt, *Venereal Clinics in New York City, Social Hygiene*, June, 1915, page 346.
[2] See *Progress in New York's Venereal Disease Campaign, Social Hygiene*, October, 1917, page 78.
[3] See Ravanel, loc. cit., page 188.

and illustrate the limitations of the dispensary, as conducted at present, in extinguishing foci of infection.

A most important agent in securing regular attendance at the clinic, and in securing regimen outside, is the social service nurse. She may follow the patient to his home address and give necessary instructions concerning the proper way of safeguarding the health of his family. In this way she may discover infection in the patient's spouse or children and, by securing treatment for these, prevent further spread of the disease. Such nurses are now attached to the best venereal clinics in this country.

In order to control the cases of active infection and to secure proper treatment, several cities have adopted methods to compel the patient to report.[1] In Rochester, failure to report brings a notice, and neglect to respond to this notice may be followed by a visit from the police, acting under the power of the Board of Health. In Cleveland, the house may be quarantined and the patient in this way be obliged to seek proper medical attention. During 1917, laws were passed in six states promoting the segregation and control of venereal cases.

Marriage Certificates. Another measure which looks in the same direction is the provision requiring that persons who are about to marry shall obtain a medical certificate showing them to be free from venereal infection. Nine states had such statutes upon their books before 1917, and three others added them during that year.[2] The provision is unquestionably a reasonable one, but in

[1] Notably Chicago, Cleveland and Rochester.

[2] See H. Cabot, *Syphilis and Society,* Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons, Washington, D. C. May, 1916.

some instances the method of enforcing it has been lax, so that these certificates do not always bear the assurance of freedom from taint which alone makes them an effective means of preventing the transmission of disease. For instance, in the state of Oregon the fee formerly allowed to a physician for making the examination was too small to pay for the necessary blood tests. As a result of superficial examination, therefore, the health certificate loses much of its value.

Quack Doctors. Two great obstacles to the thorough treatment of venereal disease are the "quack" doctor and the "fake" cure. In our tour of investigation in 1917, practitioners of bad or doubtful reputation were found in twenty-seven out of thirty-nine cities visited. We collected a file of cards, folders and signs, announcing the ability of skin, nerve, or blood specialists to treat the diseases peculiar to men and women. Consultation was frequently offered free of cost. The ordinary method of procedure is to examine the applicant and find that he is affected with a dangerous venereal disease, to alarm him regarding its possible effects, to promise a cure if the visitor will pay for it, and then to begin the administration of some remedy.[1] Some of these doctors administer well-known preparations, but offend professional etiquette by their extensive advertisements. The newspapers in some parts of the country used to carry back pages half filled with the announcements of such practitioners. The men were occasionally found to be absolute charlatans and the medicines they administered either useless or positively harmful.

[1] See *Men's Specialists*, Amer. Med. Association, Chicago, 1913.

The advertisement of cures for venereal disease was prohibited in twelve states before 1917, and measures to the same effect were passed in three others during the course of that year. The local medical associations have done much to drive out the unscrupulous quack. The regulation of midwives and druggists, however, is still a matter requiring serious attention.

The Future of Venereal Disease Control. Our entrance into the World War in the spring of 1917 marks the beginning of a new era in venereal disease study and control. Our Army and Navy surgeons, our public health service, and our private physicians had had opportunity for three years to study the ravages of the venereal diseases in the warring armies and the methods adopted by our Allies for their control. With the stimulus of our need for an effective fighting force, great strides were made not only in the direction of scientific investigation into methods of medical treatment, but also in the possibilities of an increased use of the law for checking the spread of disease in civilian communities. As has been pointed out in the Introduction, we are discussing in this volume conditions existing prior to the war. A volume in course of preparation will take up the story at this point and discuss the effects of the war on prostitution and venereal disease.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLICE

Police and the Law.—Attitude of the Public,—of the Administration,—of Vice Interests.—Opportunities for Graft.—Regulation.—Toleration.—Repression.—Police Rules.—Arrests.—Raids.—Quarantine.—Vice Squads.—Policewomen.—Morals Bureau.—Efficiency.—Political Influence.—Corruption.—Difficulties.—Recommendations.

Police and the Law. The principal agency for enforcing the law is the police. It is the force which suppresses disorder within the state, as the Army protects the country against invasion from without. The administrative police is for the most part an agent of the municipality, and so is particularly susceptible to local influence. In its attempt to enforce general laws of the state, which sometimes compel lines of conduct not heartily approved by mixed city populations, the urban police is frequently placed in a difficult if not impossible position.

In his recent book on American Police Systems, Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, speaking of laws which are unenforceable because they interfere with customs widely practiced, says, "It suits the judgment of some and the temper of others to convert into crimes practices which they deem mischievous or unethical. . . . They resort to law to supply the deficiencies of other agencies of social control. They attempt to govern by means of law things which in their nature do not admit of objective treatment and ex-

ternal coercion."[1] This has been particularly true of most legislation which deals with sexual relationships. It is in the enforcement of laws relative to sex, more often than in any other branch of activity, that our police have been criticized both by those who approved and those who disapproved their passage. We shall confine ourselves strictly to our own observations as to the attitude of the police force itself, that of other officials and of the general public as to the enforcement or disregard of laws connected with prostitution existing at the time of our survey in the localities visited.

Attitude of Administration. The local administration, which is sworn to enforce the law, not infrequently finds itself out of sympathy with the measures which have been passed. It sometimes represents the opposing political party and accepts the new legislation unwillingly. At the same time, it is bound to consider the wishes of its constituency, which maintains it in authority. If the majority or even a considerable proportion of the people do not wish to have the law enforced, the task of the administration becomes extremely difficult. Thus the enforcement of prohibition measures in many localities where the people have been accustomed to the use of liquor has become almost a farce. For instance, the writer was recently in a city in a "dry" state during a street-car strike. The local administration decided to enforce strictly the rule against selling liquor, as a measure for preventing rioting and disorder. As a result of this unwonted stringency in the enforcement of an ancient law,

[1] *American Police Systems*, Raymond B. Fosdick, The Century Company, New York, 1920, pages 46 and 47.

a body of barkeepers waited upon the Mayor and protested that they were deprived of their means of livelihood.

Attitude of Vice Interests. The same attitude of bewilderment and indignant protest has sometimes been taken by the vice interests, who have suddenly found their tolerated houses closed, the registered inmates arrested or obliged to leave town, and their former guardians on the police force transformed into prosecutors. "Why all this hot haste?" they sometimes inquire. "We have been here for years and are known to the officials and the leading citizens. Many persons require our services. As a means of livelihood prostitution compares favorably with boot-legging and stock-gambling. Our commodity does not lead to so much rioting as the former, nor result in so much loss as the latter. All three may be aside from the law, but they fill a great popular demand."

Opportunities for Graft. The most significant point in this connection is that the public is often willing to pay well for illegal indulgence, and those who profit by its weakness are able to share their generous returns with officials who permit the illegitimate business to continue. The mass of citizens may not be aware of evasions of the law, and the administration sometimes does not care to inform itself concerning such details. So the police, when left to exercise their judgment concerning the enforcement of unpopular measures, may decide to steer a middle course and permit vice resorts to run quietly, so long as there is no open disorder to bring scandal upon the community. Sometimes it is "worth while" for them to agree to such violations of the law.

Regulation. As already indicated in the chapter on the District, the police in many American cities have attempted to enforce a policy of regulation. This usually included some form of registration for the women, restriction within a district, and often a more or less systematic method of physical examination. How unsuccessful this system has proven for the restriction of vice, the suppression of disorder, and the checking of venereal disease, we have attempted to show in a former chapter. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, as there stated, that the majority of old-time police officers favor the policy of regulation, because it enables them to keep track of a certain number of women, to use them in the detection of other criminals, and because it offers opportunities for the exercise of authority which no other system affords. Eighteen out of twenty-eight police chiefs who were questioned upon this matter indicated their preference for some such method of control. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the policy of segregation and of regulation, so far as it is connected with a body of recognized prostitutes, is decidedly on the wane throughout this country. Perhaps the lack of hearty sympathy on the part of police officials with this change may account in a measure for the lack of success in enforcing a more rigid policy of suppression.

Toleration. A second policy, less decided than the foregoing, is that of simply winking at the evil and allowing it to continue so long as it does not arouse protest. Little or no effort is made to control prostitution under such a plan. It is simply permitted to exist upon sufferance and may be abolished in conformity with the law at any time.

In such a system, the Mayor or Chief of Police takes in his hands absolute power to disregard or to enforce the law, as circumstances may determine. The whole matter is extra-legal and neither citizens nor malefactors have any assurance that protection will be consistently afforded by the administration. Although the police in only seven out of forty cities admitted that toleration was their policy, this weak-kneed attitude has practically been the one adopted by the administration of most American cities where prostitution has been allowed. The whole dirty business has been shoved into some out-of-the-way corner of the town and told to be good, or it would be pitched out entirely. Such a situation has proven unsatisfactory, both to those who sought to improve public health and order by regulation, and also to those who believed that any recognition of prostitution encourages it and gives ground for its further development.

Repression. The third position which has been assumed by American communities is the thoroughgoing policy of repression. Prostitution is a menace to the health and morality of the community and as such has been declared contrary to law. It is therefore the duty of the police to enforce all measures necessary to stamp out this evil, and the plain duty of all those in authority to give means necessary to effect such action. In twenty-three of the forty cities visited in 1917, the responsible executives declared themselves in favor of this policy. Miss Miner found that 66 out of 93 cities had adopted such policy by 1915.[1]

Police Rules. For the administration of any policy,

[1] *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 131.

the police have adopted certain regulations in addition to the laws and ordinances covering disorderly houses and street walking. These are necessary in order to inform the officer as to the proper course of action and to prevent wrong doing. Under the old policy of regulation such measures were given in great detail, extending even to such minor points as to how the women should be clothed, how they should manage the lights and blinds in their houses, the hours and places permitted for their daily walks, and a multitude of other minutiæ which were obviously unenforceable without a large body of police detailed especially to watch over the conduct of the women.[1]

Under the policy of toleration, the main object sought was to avoid public disorder and scandal. The prostitutes were therefore usually warned to remain within certain localities and to avoid conduct in public which might render them subject to arrest. With the enforcement of repression, however, a number of preventive measures have been suggested, many of which fell to the lot of the police to carry out.

In order to prevent the wide scattering of immoral women in rooms and apartments throughout the city, it is necessary that the police observe and report suspicious conduct on the part of any person who may be on their beat. The information must be accurate enough to justify careful observation, without necessitating the difficulties of a fraudulent or forced entry. "Burglarizing" has at times been adopted by the police, in order to obtain

[1] See for example Police Regulations for old district of El Paso. Appendix, page 334.

conclusive evidence, but it is strictly illegal and may result in a reprimand or punishment for the offending officer should his lead prove false.

Street walkers who persistently haunt any neighborhood soon become known to men on the beat, but the occasional visitor is harder to "spot" and identify. In any case, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between solicitation and a casual meeting or innocent flirtation. Recently the New York papers have been filled with protests from women who have been arrested by plainclothes men and later were dismissed by the courts.[1] Nevertheless, it is necessary for the police to watch strolling prostitutes carefully, if the city is to be freed from the type of nuisance that formerly confronted one upon the streets.

The control of parks and beaches is a more difficult task. It usually requires a special squad of men. In some instances an automobile or motorcycle is necessary. In all cases of outdoor patrol the work of the policeman is made much easier by good lighting, by closing secluded parkways after dark and by regulations which require that children unaccompanied by older relatives shall not be abroad at night.

The control of indoor resorts is even more difficult, because it requires the entrance of an officer upon private property. Nevertheless, such places as are used by the general public may be observed by the authorities and regulations made to safeguard their patrons. For instance, the police authorities in many American cities have forbidden the use of booths or small private dining-rooms in cafés. They have restricted music and dancing in

[1] Written in 1919.

places where liquor was sold, and have sometimes prohibited unaccompanied men and women from being served in the same room of restaurants.[1]

The safeguarding of hotels and rooming houses is another difficult job. Sometimes the hotel proprietors and their private detectives connive at immorality which occurs in their houses. In this case the police must not only inspect the register, but must also observe the character of couples who enter and leave, noticing the amount of luggage they have with them and noting the length of time they remain. The licensing and periodical inspection of lodging and rooming houses has also been adopted in several cities. This measure enables the police to enter the premises and observe conditions without reasonable objection from doubtful proprietors.

The control of automobiles is as yet an unsolved problem. The driver of a taxi or jitney can be made to give evidence of good character in order to obtain a license, and his conduct may be observed as he operates from a public stand; but the machine from a private garage is difficult to follow and the police are often embarrassed by lack of authority outside the city limits. To meet these difficulties some cities have equipped a special squad with strong search-lights and secured authority to make arrests within a reasonable distance beyond the city limits. Recently there has been urged the necessity for a state police to patrol outlying sections and to observe conditions about picnic grounds and road-houses.

All such measures in the last analysis depend upon the

[1] See for this and following section, rules adopted by the police of Washington, D. C., during the inauguration ceremony in 1917.

character and efficiency of the patrolmen. Where these are selected according to proper tests of fitness, measures such as those just mentioned are useful in repressing prostitution. But where the men themselves are of doubtful quality, or are shifted rapidly by successive administrations, the rules become a dead letter and avail nothing.

Arrests. The importance of prostitution to the police force may be judged by the number of arrests made in cities where the policy of suppression is actually or nominally enforced. During the year 1916, 200,901 arrests for all causes were made by the New York City Police, of which 26,217 cases were women. Of the total number, 5,594 arrests were for offenses against chastity, among which 2,784, or nearly one-half, were women. The following were the principal offenses recorded against them:

Soliciting	1,560
Prostitution in tenements	842
Keeping disorderly house	197[1]

The police report of Omaha, Nebraska, shows these data:

Total persons arrested	15,343
Females	2,086
Prostitution	903[2]

Prostitution in this place was the charge against nearly one-half of the women arrested during the year. But it is interesting to note that, of all women arrested, 1,527 were listed as prostitutes. This apparently indicates that prostitutes are not only troublesome because of their in-

[1] *Annual Report*, 1916, page 34.
[2] *Annual Report Chief of Police*, 1916, page 26.

fractions of laws against chastity, but that they also furnish a large percentage of women arrested for other offenses, such as drunkenness, disorderly conduct, larceny, etc.

The number of arrests varies with the policy and efficiency of the Police Department. It frequently happens that a greater number of arrests are made during a strict administration than under a loose one where conditions are actually much worse. This makes the comparison of figures for different places very difficult. Where the policy has been consistent for some time, the numbers do not show any great change. For instance, here are the figures for the Boston Police Department for ten years:

	Five years ending Nov. 30, 1907	Five years ending Nov. 30, 1912
Fornication	1170	2498
Keeping house of ill-fame.....	337	475
Common night walker.....	1115	1628

It is to be expected that with the increase of population and the gradual stiffening of repressive measures the number of arrests should increase. On the other hand, a lessening of police pressure will show upon the records what is apparently a better condition of public morals. For instance, under the "Golden Rule Policy" of Chief Kohler, in Cleveland, the arrests for offenses against chastity fell over 87 per cent during the three years following the introduction of the new attitude of leniency, as compared with the three years preceding that time.[1]

Unquestionably, there are many places and persons connected with prostitution unknown to the police, or

[1] *Report of the Vice Commission of Cleveland Baptist Brotherhood*, page 9.

not reported by them. For instance, the Police Investigating Committee of the New York Board of Aldermen in 1913, found that, while only 184 disorderly places had been reported by the police for the preceding year, arrests were made in 412 places, 361 of which had not been reported by the police.[1] In other words, it sometimes appears that the police either do not know of vicious conditions which they would be expected to understand, or do not take active measures to check violations of the law.

Raids. A spectacular method of striking terror to the heart of wrong doers is the sudden and sometimes violent raid. A patrol wagon dashes up to the suspected house. Police scramble out and attack the various entrances and exits, and round up the inmates. Girls, madams, and sometimes visitors are hustled into waiting conveyances and transported to the nearest court amidst the curious glances of interested bystanders. Names are taken, fines are paid, and the ruffled owner of the resort returns to put her house in order.

Such dramatic episodes were formerly frequently staged by the police, in order to bring recalcitrant resorts to terms and give the solid citizens an impression of the vigorous activity of the police. Under the old regime in Chicago, such raids were "pulled off" whenever business in the local magistrate courts was dull and any of the resort keepers were in arrears with their contributions. Now the method is seldom adopted unless proper evidence cannot otherwise be secured. Unless the raid were conducted with much care, in order to keep the

[1] See report of Committee, page 40.

movements secret, it might become known to the proprietor of the resort. In some cases this person might be "tipped off" by a friend on the force.

Quarantine. Another method for "choking a resort to death," was to establish a system of "quarantine." This consisted in stationing a policeman before the door of a doubtful resort, with instructions to warn all persons entering that the place was under surveillance. This was generally sufficient to deter all but the boldest customers. The officer might go further and ask the name, address and business of every one who wished to enter. Or, finally, he might refuse to let anybody except the inmates and persons who brought them necessary supplies, enter or leave the place. Such treatment ordinarily resulted in destroying the trade of a doubtful resort, and the proprietor usually moved out or agreed to amend his ways.

Vice Squads. For the purpose of carrying out a policy of control or suppression the police have frequently organized a special squad of men to look after vice conditions in the city. Such squads, varying in number from a single individual to over forty men, were found in twenty-five out of the forty cities visited in 1917. These men have as their particular function to become acquainted with all persons and places suspected of being connected with prostitution, to observe their activities and to take or recommend appropriate action.

Vice squads are usually attached directly to Police Headquarters and report immediately to one of the higher officers on the force. The purpose of this specialization is to secure the services of men who become acquainted

with the particular kind of work and to avoid exposing ordinary patrolmen to the peculiar temptations which association with vice involves.

Policewomen. A further step in the same direction, which also includes a certain amount of preventive work, is the appointment of policewomen. Such persons were found in fifteen out of forty cities visited. They were usually mature and vigorous women, of the matronly type, whose particular function it is to look after the conduct of women and girls in public places and in open resorts. Sometimes their task consists in warning young girls against entering certain places unattended. Again it may be to arrest an objectionable "masher" or to seek a missing woman in some disorderly resort. The presence of a policewoman has usually a wholesome influence in places of amusement, where she sometimes acts as a kind of general chaperon.

Morals Bureau. A further development in the effort to suppress prostitution is the institution of a special bureau to keep track of prostitutes and to deal with conditions that concern their business. In the Cleveland Police Headquarters, for instance, there is a register of all persons and places against which complaints have been lodged for disorderly or suspicious conduct of this sort. The movements of the individuals are carefully followed and the houses are inspected by a special squad of men. In Pittsburgh the matter was carried further by the appointment of a commission, composed of prominent persons outside of the regular administration, to examine into and deal with all matters pertaining to the social evil. The commission began a vigorous cam-

paign to suppress prostitution throughout the city, but was soon declared unconstitutional and was discontinued. Eleven of the American vice investigations urged that some such bureau or committee should be placed in charge of the administration of laws dealing with sexual offenses. This would seem a profitable suggestion, if persons of sufficiently wide experience could be secured to serve permanently upon such a board, or if practical men connected with the police force could be trained to regard the social evil in its wider aspects.

Efficiency. We have remarked upon the lack of knowledge or of vigorous action shown by the police authorities concerning disorderly characters and resorts existing in their own cities. Vice investigations have repeatedly found places not listed by the police, and others which were apparently running wide open in disregard of the law. In some cases it is possible that the regular patrolman had not observed violations. In others it appeared that such knowledge was concealed, either because the police found it to their advantage to allow the resort to continue, or because they had received instructions from above not to interfere.[1] We have also remarked that many of the police officials are convinced that some type of regulation or toleration is preferable to undertaking a vigorous campaign of suppression. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the spread of prostitution has not been more rapidly checked.

Despite adverse conditions, it is interesting to note

[1] In twenty-eight of the forty cities visited in 1917, our observation led us to conclude that the administration of the police force was lax or corrupt. In only twelve places did the enforcement appear to be vigorous and consistent.

the opinion of police officials concerning the trend of prostitution in their own cities. Among the forty cities visited, twenty-six chiefs, or their authorized representatives, were of the opinion that prostitution, at least in its open commercial form, was decreasing. Twelve others believed that there had not been any change during the last year or so, while two stated that they thought that vice was increasing. Perhaps these last gentlemen were more frank than the others. Several added to their statement their opinion that while the regular parlor house type of disorderly resort was on the wane, the clandestine prostitutes and charity girls were increasing in the community. On the whole, however, it appears that the police officials themselves believe that by following a policy of repression, open and accessible vice in the community was diminished.

Political Influence. In general it may be said that the police department of any city follows the policy announced by the responsible executive, usually the Mayor. If the Mayor calls the Chief into his office and informs him that the laws against vice are to be strictly enforced without fear or favor, the ordinary policeman finds this out and proceeds to carry the policy of repression into effect. But when there are mental reservations and officers are told that such and such persons need not be disturbed, there grows up in the mind of the average patrolman a suspicion regarding the importance of law enforcement which paralyzes his efforts. Moreover, if he sees certain persons favored and others discriminated against, it is a bad example which he may follow in favoring his own friends. The vice reports of various

places have expressed or intimated a belief in the presence of political interference in police administration.[1] The long struggle of Chief Beavers to enforce the law in Atlanta is another example of the same type of obstructionism.

Corruption. The corruption of patrolmen by the offering of bribes or contributions for protection has also been dealt with in various vice reports.[2] The revelations of Inspector Schmittberger in the Lexow Investigation,[3] the statements of Magistrate McAdoo,[4] the findings of the Becker trial and of various police investigations [5] leave no doubt as to the actual existence of bribery formerly in New York. Similar testimony might be cited in half a dozen other American cities. The writer personally met the agent who collected tribute for the boss in one of the mid-western cities, and many denizens of the underworld have told of their payments to men on the force. The statement of a former graft collector concerning this matter may add point to such general remarks:[6]

"Graft collectors were added to the forces of the underworld in the decade between 1860 and 1870, and that force has been active in all the years since. This

[1] See for example, the *Social Evil of Newark*, page 49.
[2] See for example, *Portland, Oregon, Vice Commission, 1913*, page 113.
[3] New York State, *New York City Police Department*, Senate Investigation, 1890, Vol. 5.
[4] See *Guarding a Great City*, pages 85 and 86.
[5] See *Report of Police Investigation Committee of New York Board of Aldermen, 1913*, page 6.
[6] This statement was made before a notary, was reduced to writing and was supported by evidence shown in the presence of the writer.

work was usually delegated to lawyers for their attention, and they received and distributed the tribute. Sometimes the protection money would be presented to the Mayor, Chief of Police and other police officials direct. The most glaring example of this is that of a police official who dominates the Department at this time. For two years he had as his partner a clever man of the underworld, and when the colored courtesans robbed a patron or a person on the street, this man would collect the protection money from the courtesans and give the official 50 per cent of it. The man stated that he collected during 1913 in this way and divided with this official, fifteen thousand dollars.

"The chief beneficiaries of the system, the liquor interests, have reported their sales to all persons without the laws to T——, and he would collect 50 per cent of the profits upon the sales of these goods. This would be split amongst bosses and the breweries. For example, a bootlegger decided to avoid paying his full share of protection money for the right to break the law. He had been purchasing all of his beer from S——. He stopped that and began buying half of his supply from M——. He sold both orders. When T—— called on Monday morning to collect, the bootlegger handed him half of the profit on the S—— sales. The collector drew from his pocket his notebook and said: 'Now give me half the profit on the M—— beer you sold, and don't try to double-cross me again.' And he did not. He learned later that the breweries made daily reports.

"During the decade between 1890 and 1900, one

method employed to reap money from the courtesans was to order their houses raided each Saturday night and require twenty-five dollars per landlady and ten dollars per inmate. Quite a dozen houses would meet this trick each Saturday night, and this notwithstanding the fact that the house was paying its regular protection money. The money was divided amongst the police officials and the bosses."

Despite criticisms concerning the honesty of the police, we are inclined to believe that the average patrolman is a brave and upright man, who desires to enforce the law. He is often confused by the changes in the policy of his superiors and is frequently tempted to accept favors from persons in the underworld. Nevertheless, it is the ordinary "cop" who stands against the forces of disorder within the city, and for safety and decency in the homes of its citizens.

Difficulties. In order to discover what the police themselves considered the principal difficulties in the way of enforcing a consistent policy of repression, inquiry was made of the chiefs of police in the cities visited. The principal obstacle, mentioned by twelve, is that of securing evidence sufficient to convict the person arrested. The police declared that the courts are unreasonable in their demand for technically perfect evidence, and assert that an officer could scarcely obtain this without incriminating himself. On the other hand, the courts claim that the ordinary policeman knows very little about obtaining legal evidence, and that many of his statements on the witness stand cannot properly be considered as sufficient to convict. Doubtless, some in-

struction to the police concerning what constitutes valid evidence and how far an officer should go in obtaining sufficient evidence to convict would be of great use. Obviously, the plainclothes man is in a better position to secure proofs of violation of the law than is the ordinary policeman in uniform.

The second difficulty mentioned by the police is the scattering of prostitutes in hotels and apartments through the town. Policemen say that it is difficult to locate and identify women who move about freely, and that it is hard to keep track of them without running the risk of reprimand for invading an innocent person's premises. of the public and lack of provision for the confinement and care of women who are arrested.

Recommendations. In view of the preceding statements concerning the difficulties of handling prostitution, it is not surprising that eighteen out of twenty-eight police officials suggested that some policy of regulation would be the best way to handle prostitution. Only five men urged the closing of open resorts and the repression of such places as remained. Other suggestions offered by the police were for greater care in the selection of officers, the abolition of political control in the force, and the supplying of adequate funds to organize a proper detective force. Several of the men also mentioned the need for more careful scrutiny of hotels and rooming houses, and two recommended more parental care for girls as a means of getting at the roots of the problem which lie beyond the power of the police.

This last remark appears to present the matter of police control in its proper light. The police can repress

open violation of the law, so far as they are given the power and the authority to do so, but the training of citizens to observe such regulations willingly is a matter of education which cannot be brought about by the application of the policeman's baton.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAW AND THE COURTS

The Law.—Prostitution.—Fornication and Adultery.—Rape and the Age of Consent.—Common Law Marriages.—Disorderly Houses.—Saloons.—Hotels.—Injunction and Abatement Laws.—Results.—The Tin Plate Ordinance.—The Courts.—Jurisdiction.—Probation.—Children.—Recommendations.

The Law. In his compilation of "Laws Relating to Sex Morality in New York City," Spingarn says:[1]

"The prohibition in the Decalogue against adultery is no less definite than that against murder, and yet, while the law against murder is uniform and constant, that against adultery has been diverse and unstable. In some states adultery is a felony, in others a misdemeanor; in some states both parties to the adultery are liable to punishment, and in others only the married person, and in still others it is a crime only when the guilty party is a married woman. In New York, adultery did not become a criminal offense until 1907, and since then it has been practically impossible to obtain a conviction in the absence of unusually aggravating circumstances. Illicit sexual intercourse is a crime in only a very few states, and in other states only becomes such when it is attended by notorious lewdness and indecency, resulting in public scandal and nuisance. In rape the age of consent ranges throughout the United States from the common-law age of ten years to that fixed in New York at eighteen years."

The same author states that in New York a prostitute could be convicted and committed under a bewildering number of statutes, and the keeper of a bawdy house

[1] Loc. cit., page 11.

made herself liable to punishment under the Penal Law, Code of Criminal Procedure, Liquor Tax Law, Tenement House Law, Public Health Law, White Slave Traffic Act, and the Immigration Law.[1] He continues to point out that not only are the laws numerous and confused, but that many of them are inadequate to deal with conditions which have arisen since they were framed.

If this was true of New York State in 1915, it was no less so in other states even later. Lack of uniformity in the statutes of the commonwealths and loose co-ordination amongst the authorities of the states themselves, made the situation still more confusing. Lack of clear definition of the offense itself also sometimes allowed the culprit to escape upon a technicality and permitted the police to use their discretion as to whether or not public policy demanded that the offender should be penalized. In looking over this field one is bewildered by the array of measures scattered through the laws books of the various communities dealt with. All we can hope to do is to cite some of the more important items, and present typical measures aimed to check sex offenses.

Prostitution. Prior to 1917, while the commercialized aspect of prostitution had been fairly well provided for, very little had been done by state legislative enactment to regulate the activities of the prostitute herself, and except in one instance no attempt at definition either of a prostitute or prostitution had been made by statue.[2] Solicitation for prostitution (women only) had been

[1] Loc. cit., page 12.
[2] See Chapter II, page 35, note 1.

made a statutory offense in only fourteen states.[1] In twenty-eight states prostitutes (women only), or common prostitutes as they were more commonly called, had been classed as vagrants or disorderly persons.[2] In Indiana and South Dakota the activities of the prostitute had also been made an offense. Two states, Indiana and South Dakota, had legislated in a more or less haphazard away against the male customer of the prostitute. "Apparently public opinion was yet too ingrained with the idea of the double standard to believe that the male customer should be punished. In northern Iowa and Indiana the Supreme Court had held that a man *could not* be guilty of prostitution."[3]

The forty cities visited during our investigation[4] were located in twenty-eight states. Of these, eighteen are included among the states which had classified prostitutes as vagrants or disorderly persons by statute. Ten states had by statute made solicitation a punishable offense. Eight had done both. And eight states, which included twelve of the cities visited, had done neither.[5] Where statute laws existed they were ordinarily reinforced by city ordinances; in cities located in states without such

[1] Colo., Conn., Ill., Kans., Md., Mass., Mont., Nev., N. J., N. M., N. Y., Utah, Wash., Wis.

[2] Ala., Cal., Colo., Fla., Ga., Idaho, Ill., Ia., Kans., La., Mass., Mich., Minn., Miss., Neb., Mont., N. J., N. Y., N. M., N. D., Okla., R. I., Tex., Utah, Nev., Va., Wash., Wyo.

[3] *Developments in Social Hygiene Legislation from 1917 to Sept. 1, 1920.* George E. Worthington. American Social Hygiene Association Publication No. 313.

[4] See list of cities visited—Introduction, page vii.

[5] Bisbee, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Douglas, Louisville, Memphis, Philadelphia Pittsburgh, Portland, Me.; Portland, Ore.; St. Louis, Toledo.

laws any legal proceeding against prostitutes was necessarily taken under local ordinances.

In spite of laws and ordinances, however, we found prostitution openly tolerated in ten cities and ineffectively repressed in over a dozen more. Where the police were actively engaged in enforcing the law the prostitute herself was usually regarded as a vagrant or a disorderly person, and was arrested by the police and brought into court on these charges or as a common prostitute, as a lewd and dissolute person or as one involved in notorious and repeated acts of fornication and adultery. Her loitering and wandering made her a vagrant, her solicitation was a disorderly act, while her frequenting or living in houses of ill-fame made her a dangerous or suspicious character subject to arrest.

For such offenses as these the prostitute was usually brought before the police magistrate or a municipal court and tried by summary procedure. One who has attended such hearings is often surprised at the rapidity with which a magistrate deals with the cases. A Monday morning docket, including many persons apprehended for disorder on the preceding Saturday and Sunday, often includes thirty or forty such cases. The writer has seen a group of ten women arraigned at once upon the statement of an officer and fined or given short term imprisonment within the space of a few minutes. Doubtless such persons were well known to the Court; otherwise such procedure would seem to be lacking in thoroughness.

Some of the more astute women hire an attorney and request time to argue the case or demand trial before

a jury. In the latter case, unless the evidence is well presented, the defendant is apt to be dismissed, because the higher courts usually demand more exact proof than is required by the ordinary magistrate and the sympathy of a jury is easily enlisted in favor of a woman in whose case there is any suspicion of persecution by the police.

Reports of the disposition of cases of prostitution in the lower courts have usually shown a low percentage of convictions. For example, for the eighteen months ending June 30, 1912, the Portland (Oregon) Vice Commission found that of 1,504 women arrested, only 861, or 57 per cent, were convicted.[1] In New York City, during 1916, out of 1,560 women arrested for soliciting, 1,292, or 83 per cent, were convicted. This proportion is unusually high; in most places about half the women were discharged.

In most cases the penalties imposed by the courts were inadequate. Fines ranging from $5.00 to $500, and imprisonment from thirty days to three years, or both, were permitted by the laws in the jurisdictions studied; but it was usual to administer a fine of a few dollars only or to imprison for a short time in lieu thereof those who could not pay.

The treatment of men for offenses against decency and morality has been even more lenient. The prostitute or disorderly housekeeper is ordinarily arrested, but the male patron is not. Comparing figures in the two reports mentioned before, we find that in Portland, out of 372 men arrested, only 155, or 42 per cent, were convicted, and in the city of New York, out of 266 males

[1] See *Portland, Oregon, Vice Commission*, page 85.

arrested for soliciting, only 165, or about 60 per cent, were convicted. This tendency to let the man off is almost universal and may be one reason why the prostitute is persistent in her business and rebellious against the authority that would attempt to check her in the face of the constant demand of men.

Fornication and Adultery. As already indicated, prostitution has generally been regarded as an offense against the law, not primarily because it involves a breach of sex morality, but because it presents certain aspects of public disorder. Although fornication very early in our history was made a punishable offense by legislative act,[1] and at the time of our survey in twenty states habitual fornication was punishable, while in sixteen other states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii a person could be convicted for a single act, yet it was practically impossible in most jurisdictions to secure the arrest, much less the conviction, of persons of mature age guilty of fornication, unless the offense was repeated or accompanied by open or notorious features.

Adultery is regarded as more serious, because it involves a breach of marital relations in the case of one or of both parties. It is interesting by way of comparison to note that the police reports of Atlanta and Savannah for 1916 together presented over 70 cases of arrests upon the charge of adultery, but none for fornication. On the other hand, Washington and Cincinnati together presented over a thousand cases of fornication and 131 for adultery. New York State has no fornication law and

[1] See Chapter I, page 24.

the City of New York during the same year reported only ten cases of adultery.

It may be of interest here to note the disposition of the cases of 223 men arrested for fornication and considered by the Boston Municipal Court, from January 1st to September, 1913. Of the total number, 192 were fined in amounts ranging from ten to twenty dollars and five were imprisoned for terms varying from twenty days to three months; two were acquitted, eleven cases were placed on file, six were put on probation, six defaulted, and one was still pending. Thus we see that the charges vary and the seriousness of the offense is differently regarded in the several jurisdictions.

Rape and Age of Consent.[1] On the other hand, rape, or the forcible violation of a woman, is generally regarded as a serious crime. In several states it is a felony punishable by death. It is regarded as specially heinous where the victim is a child. As already stated, the age of consent varies in the different states from the common law age of ten years to that of eighteen in the more advanced commonwealths. Some of the statutes naïvely discriminate between the female of previous chaste habits and little girls who have been immoral, protecting the former and allowing no charge of rape to be advanced in the case of the latter.[2] It is obvious that

[1] Rape is an act of sexual intercourse perpetrated by a man with a woman, not his wife, *against her will* and *without her consent.*

Age of consent, in the eyes of the law, means the age at which a child is presumed to have sufficient mental capacity to consent to illicit sexual intercourse.

[2] See for digest of social hygiene laws, T. N. Pfeiffer, *The Matter and Method of Social Hygiene Legislation. Social Hygiene,* January, 1917, pages 51 and following.

if girls are to be protected against their own ignorance and the evil designs of men, the age of consent should be raised. Four out of twenty-five vice commissions specifically urged these measures as a means of protecting children. That such measures are needed may be judged from the fact that 172 cases involving the charge of rape were brought before the West Side Criminal Court of Denver, between the 1st of June, 1901, and the 1st of May, 1913.[1]

Common Law Marriage. The layman is apt to be confused by the distinction between a common law marriage and a situation in which a man may live with several women, one after another, or even with one woman as his mistress with no intent to make her his wife. A common law marriage is one entered into without complying with the forms provided by law for the celebration of marriage. The courts, both state and Federal, hold that common law marriages are good if not expressly prohibited by the statutes of the state or territory where the marriage takes place, and, like ceremonial marriages, if valid in the state or territory where they were contracted, will be valid everywhere, even in countries and states not permitting such marriages to be entered into within their own borders. Such marriages involve the same rights and responsibilities as ceremonial marriages. According to Hall and Brooke,[2] in their recent book on American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects, com-

[1] Statement of Judge Ben Lindsey.

[2] *American Marriage Laws*—Fred S. Hall and Elisabeth W. Brooke—Russell Sage Foundation, 1919, page 14.

mon law marriages are still lawful in twenty-six states and are possibly valid in six other states in which the exact status has not been clearly settled. In other words, common law marriages probably may be contracted in thirty-two states, and a common law marriage contracted in one of these states will be valid in all of the forty-eight.

No prosecution, therefore, for fornication could lie in a state in which common law marriages were recognized, if the intent of a marriage relationship were established in any given case. Nor could persons be prosecuted for living together in a state having a fornication law but in which a common law marriage is not recognized, provided they had moved into the state from another state in which a common law marriage was not prohibited and in which they had contracted such a union. There is no doubt that differences in the legal status of such relationships cause great confusion and not infrequently work hardships, particularly to the children of such unions. So far as prostitution is concerned, ignorance of her acts in entering into a particular relationship may be responsible in some instances for the first steps in a girl's downfall. If the time ever comes when we can secure a uniform code of marriage and divorce laws throughout the United States these particular difficulties will disappear.

Disorderly Houses. A disorderly house may be defined as any dwelling or part thereof which is used for purposes of prostitution, assignation, or similar lewd and disorderly acts. The maintenance of such places was

forbidden by laws in all but five states,[1] and penalties in fines ranging from small amounts up to $1,000 and imprisonment from a few days to three years or more were provided. Such disorderly resorts are usually regarded as nuisances under the common law and may be abated by summary action on the part of the police, or by a suit at criminal law. Of late years procedure by the method of injunction, which involves a suit at civil law, is beginning to replace the former. The injunction law will be discussed later.

For an ordinary suit at criminal law common repute of the place, involving the presence of lewd persons and the commission of disorderly acts, is sufficient to convict. Such evidence is usually obtained by the police or is brought out by the testimony of witnesses in court. The lessee or proprietor of the place is ordinarily the person who is penalized, although inmates and those who frequent such resorts may also be held as disorderly persons. The property owner is usually not responsible, unless it can be shown that he has knowingly let his premises for immoral purposes or permitted them to be so used after he had gained such information. In most instances it is sufficient for him to request the tenant to leave, and the lease may be voided.

The courts before which cases involving bawdy houses are brought are usually those of a police magistrate, a city or a district judge. The employment of attorneys and the benefit of jury are more general in such cases than in those involving an individual prostitute. The

[1] The maintenance of disorderly houses was not forbidden in Ark., Ky., La., N. M., and S. C.

number of cases varies enormously with the general policy of restriction adopted in the jurisdiction. According to the returns in Fort Worth, no such cases had been brought for seven years preceding our visit. On the other hand, 558 cases were tried in the city of St. Louis during the year 1916.

The disposition of such suits will be discussed more fully later, but it may be of interest here to note again the attitude of the courts in some jurisdictions. During eighteen months 216 places were raided in Portland and 675 women then arrested. During this period of eighteen months not one of these places was proceeded against for the purpose of putting it out of business on the ground of being a common nuisance.[1] In New York City, under the strict administration of 1916, 1,311 arrests for keeping disorderly houses or apartments were made, from which number 981 convictions were obtained.

Formerly a system of periodic fines was employed in several cities where houses of prostitution were tolerated. In Baltimore, "Ladies' Day" was celebrated by bringing the keepers of the resorts into court and fining them from $5 to $75. In Minneapolis, before 1901, the regular fine was $100 a year, and after that date it was reduced to $50.[2] In Kansas City, 147 houses were on the fine list, which paid $2,708.50 during the year.[3] Miss Miner noted other instances of that same system, which has now practically disappeared as a recognized means of settling the matter with the court.[4]

[1] See *Portland, Oregon, Vice Commission Report*, page 86.
[2] *Minneapolis Vice Commission*, pages 23 and 24.
[3] *Social Evil in Kansas City*, page 2.
[4] Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 150.

The Law and the Courts

The right of a municipality to close disorderly houses after they have been permitted to exist was questioned in the case of *Shreveport vs. Price, Maxwell and Ferguson.*[1] The defendants claimed that inasmuch as the legislature had given the city of Shreveport in its charter the right to regulate houses of prostitution, it was not within its power to suppress them. Their counsel argued that adultery, fornication and prostitution had never been made crimes by the state of Louisiana. Therefore, places where such acts were permitted were not illegal.

On the other hand, the attorney for the plaintiff contended that there is no such thing as legalized vice, and cited cases to show that bawdy houses are nuisances *per se.* He further urged that, since the legislature had empowered the city to regulate all such resorts and to close them whenever public safety and tranquillity might require, this right carried with it the power to suppress such places whenever public policy demanded such action. His argument was sustained by the court, and the houses of prostitution in Shreveport were closed.

Saloons. The control of saloons, cafés and other places where liquor is sold has been greatly simplified by the passage of prohibition laws. At the time of our investigation, twenty-six of the cities visited permitted such places to run under the system of licenses. The regulations enforced by the police or licensing authorities varied greatly. For instance, it was the rule in the ma-

[1] See *Supreme Court of Louisiana, 1918, No. 22927.* This case is of importance as showing the extra-legal statute of all such disorderly resorts. It demonstrated, in a state which was traditionally tolerant regarding vice, that public authorities might close bawdy houses whenever they desired to do so.

jority of towns to close at or before midnight, but in half a dozen cities a later hour was permitted, and in one no closing, except on Sunday, was required.

Concerning attractions, in half the places no music or entertainment was permitted. In most of the others music was allowed. Sitting-rooms and booths were tolerated in about half the cases. It was to such back rooms and closed recesses, when women unattended were admitted, that prostitutes came to seek their patrons. In eleven of these towns it was forbidden to admit women alone and in half a dozen others it was specified that they must not enter the bar or that recognized prostitutes should not be admitted.

Complaints of violation were usually presented by the police, but in some places officers were not allowed to enter and the testimony of neighbors or agents of reform organizations was relied upon. In the majority of instances cases of disorderly saloons were tried before the city court, in others before the licensing board or the police. The penalty for violation of the regulations was usually a suspension of the license or a fine which varied from $50 to $1,000 as a maximum. A study of the disposition of such cases shows that in the majority of instances a fine was imposed for the first violation, and that for a repetition of the offense the license was suspended or withdrawn.

In the main, the attitude of the liquor dealers appeared to be circumspect, because, at that time, they feared the hastening of prohibition measures. We found, however, that some proprietors tolerated and encouraged the

patronage of prostitutes and used political influence with the authorities to allow resorts to run in a lax manner.

Hotels. Hotels as places of assignation have already been discussed in the chapter upon vice resorts.[1] Upon consulting the legal authorities of the cities visited, we found that in over two-thirds of the cases no special form of registration for guests was required by ordinance, but was simply used as a matter of form. In only one place did the ordinance require that a reasonable amount of baggage should be brought. Frequent reletting of rooms to couples or to the same person in one night was specifically forbidden in only three towns.

The responsibility for disorderly conduct in a hotel generally rests upon the proprietor or his agent, the clerk or manager. In most instances the law requires that this agent should have guilty knowledge concerning disorderly acts or immoral practices carried on in the house. Under the injunction or abatement law, however, such knowledge is not necessary, but the fact or repetition of improper use is sufficient to constitute the place a nuisance. The evidence required before the court accordingly varies with the type of procedure. The fact that disorderly persons frequent a hotel or that immoral acts are there observed is usually sufficient to constitute proof that the place is improperly conducted and it may consequently be considered a nuisance.[2]

Convictions in such cases were usually not numerous

[1] See Chapter V.

[2] For further discussion of this point see article by Frederick H. Whitin, *Obstacles to Vice Repression, Social Hygiene,* April, 1916, pages 145 and following.

in the jurisdictions observed. For example, in one city no such suit had been brought for five years preceding our visit. In another place two hundred suits were brought against disorderly hotels in a single year. Usually the better hotelkeepers were careful to see that no obviously improper persons were admitted and that no flagrant disorder occurred, because this would injure the reputation of the house and prevent its being frequented by desirable patrons. On the other hand, in at least ten cities we found a number of small hotels where ignorant and mercenary proprietors permitted their establishments to become practically houses of assignation, or even tolerated and encouraged the residence of prostitutes upon the premises.

Injunction and Abatement Laws. In 1909 the state of Iowa passed a law for the purpose of allowing the commonwealth to rid itself of disorderly resorts without appeal to the criminal courts. This so-called Injunction and Abatement Law was the model which thirty-one other states adopted by the end of 1917. The main points of this law, as set forth by Bascom Johnson in his article in *Social Hygiene* for March, 1915, are the following:

The distinctive principle of this law is: "That it gives to the individual persons, in any community, the right to prevent by injunction the continued operation of houses of lewdness or prostitution as nuisances, without having to prove that such individual citizens suffered special damages, different from those suffered by them in common with the public." [1] The common provisions

[1] Loc. cit., page 231.

found in most of the laws may be summarized as follows:[1]

1. Disorderly houses and their contents are declared to be nuisances, and those who occupy, conduct, or own them are declared to be guilty of maintaining a nuisance.
2. County or district attorneys and individual citizens are given the right to institute proceedings in equity for their abatement and to enjoin perpetually the owners, agents and persons guilty of maintaining them.
3. After the complaint is filed, and after a hearing, of which the defendants generally receive three days' notice, the court, if satisfied of the existence of the nuisance, issues a temporary injunction restraining the continuance of the nuisance pending the trial.
4. The trial is held at first term of court and the general reputation of the place, made admissible as evidence, proves the existence of the nuisance.
5. Upon proof of the existence of the nuisance, a permanent injunction is issued, the sale of personal property used in conducting the business is ordered and the premises closed, unless a bond is given to insure the proper use of the property in the future. Violation of an order of a court enjoining the continuation of the nuisance is made contempt and punishable by fine or imprisonment, varying from $200 to $1,000 and from three to six months, respectively, or both.

Certain states have an additional provision that whenever a permanent injunction is issued a tax of $300 is to be assessed against the property and defendants. Although the constitutionality of such laws has been attacked in the highest courts of at least six different jurisdictions, every legal principle embodied in the measures has been upheld. It, therefore, appears to be a valid exercise of legislative power.[2] Various arguments and

[1] Loc. cit., pages 232 and 233.
[2] For citation of decisions, see Johnson, loc. cit., pages 239-251.

objections have been advanced against the law, which may be thus summarized:

1. It has been claimed that such policy may aid in closing the restricted district of a city, but that it will result in scattering prostitutes throughout the town.

In reply, it may be stated that prostitutes have always been scattered. Breaking up their market for vice is of itself a good result. On the other hand, it may be urged that such a law is effective against any such scattering of prostitutes, because it subjects property owners in any part of the city to suit for harboring lewd and disorderly persons upon their premises. In this way property owners are made more careful in selecting their tenants, and, consequently, vicious persons find fewer places in which to carry on their illegal business.

2. Such a law may become an instrument for blackmail and work hardship to property owners. It is claimed that designing persons might connive at disorderly acts upon any given premises and might then furnish information which would render the owner liable to great loss resulting from the prosecution of the suit.

The conclusion from a study of the working of these laws in Iowa and Nebraska is that this objection is without foundation. After an examination of fifty-two cases brought in three cities of these states, and after consultation with the officials who conducted them, no case was found or had been heard of in which blackmail had been used or attempted. The practical result of enforcement in almost every case has been that the owners upon notice have cleared out the objectionable tenants and abated the nuisance. This, together with the further fact that in

only one case out of fifty-two was there any attempt by the prostitutes to continue their business at the same address or anywhere within the judicial district, has obviated the difficulty of enforcing the penalty provided in the law against owners.[1]

3. It is claimed that abolishing open vice resorts will drive men to assault virtuous women.

This argument has already been dealt with in a previous chapter. So far as we are aware, no valid proof has ever been adduced to prove it.

Results. Concerning the practical operation of such laws a few examples may be cited. In December, 1914, the Buffalo Federation of Churches began an investigation, resulting in evidence against the most notorious houses of the tenderloin. This evidence was taken to the District Attorney with a request that he institute action against these places as public nuisances. In a little more than a year after the work was begun, 105 actions had been instituted. In six of these the motion for injunction was denied. Seventy-seven permanent injunctions were granted; the rest of the cases were pending. The police report showed that thirty-five proprietors and about five hundred women left Buffalo, and about fifty of the men who lived upon the proceeds of the trade went also.[2]

In Chicago under the Injunction Law of 1915 the Committee of Fifteen operated by sending an informal notice to the property owner before requesting the court to act. About five hundred notices were served up to the

[1] Johnson, loc. cit., page 253.
[2] See *Social Hygiene*, July, 1916, page 466.

end of July, 1917. In 410 cases, tenants were dislodged upon informal notice. Eighty-six were served with formal notices and only eleven injunctions were asked for. About four hundred disorderly places were thus eliminated and the real estate owners have been stimulated to exercise greater care in the use of their property.

In Indianapolis, the Church Federation undertook to secure the enforcement of the law. During the fifteen months following its enactment in 1915, twenty-four suits were brought against the keepers of houses of prostitution, all of which resulted successfully. In addition to these twenty-four cases, more than sixty houses of prostitution were vacated after notice and threat of enforcing the law, without the need of bringing suits.[1]

In Los Angeles, from the time the law went into effect, in November, 1915, up to September, 1916, there were filed with the Superior Court thirty-five cases. In each instance a permanent injunction was granted and the owners and inmates were perpetually enjoined from ever thereafter conducting or being inmates of a house of prostitution. But many other places were closed under threat of enforcing the law after evidence was obtained through the Morals Efficiency Association. Three hundred and twenty-six such places were discovered and the nuisance abated during the year 1916.

Perhaps so much is sufficient to show that the Injunction and Abatement Law may be a powerful weapon in the hand of an active city or district attorney. Even in case a public prosecutor will not act, any citizen or active association may bring suit to prevent the use of

[1] *Social Hygiene*, January, 1917, pages 137-139.

properties for improper purposes. The salutary effect of such action appears to be that landlords at once take notice and abate nuisances they formerly condoned or of which they were culpably ignorant.

For the effective administration of the Injunction and Abatement Law, the state of Iowa also adopted an Ouster Act, which provides that public officials who do not enforce the laws entrusted to their administration may be removed from office upon petition. The State Attorney who first administered the Injunction Law in Iowa is of the opinion that this measure is important in order to promote the active enforcement of injunction proceedings.

The Tin Plate Ordinance. One of the difficulties of serving proper notice upon the owners of property is the uncertainty as to who actually owns the building. This difficulty has been overcome by the city of Portland, Oregon, through what is commonly called "The Tin Plate Ordinance." This measure, which was passed as a result of the vice investigation in 1913, requires that

". . . Any person, firm, . . or corporation owning any real property within the corporate limits of the city of Portland, upon which is erected any building used either in all or in part as an hotel, roominghouse, lodginghouse, boardinghouse, tenementhouse, or saloon, shall place and maintain at the front of every such building at the principal entrance thereof a conspicuous plate or sign bearing the name and address of the owner or owners of such building."

"Any person violating the provision of this ordinance shall, upon conviction . . . be punished by a fine of not more than $100."

This measure is intended not only to identify the owner of the property which may be used for immoral purposes, but it also serves as a kind of safeguard, for

the reason that few reputable individuals or corporations would care to have their names conspicuously placed upon any building against which such a charge might be brought. The effect of such an ordinance, therefore, seems to be salutary and has been urged by several vice commissions as a means for lessening the improper use of hotels and rooming houses.

THE COURTS

In discussing the operation of the various laws dealing with sex offenses, we have already described the procedure in the courts. At this point it is necessary to present a summary only.

Jurisdiction. As has already been indicated, the courts which have jurisdiction over cases of prostitution and disorderly houses are ordinarily those of the Police Magistrates, the Municipal Court, or other courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction. Their dockets as a rule are filled with a miscellaneous lot of offenses against local ordinances and state laws, such as do not usually require argument by attorney or decision by jury. Drunkenness and disorderly conduct, vagrancy, petty thefts, lesser degrees of assault, and the violation of health and traffic rules are ordinarily dealt with by a simple hearing before a magistrate. For these offenses all classes of persons, young or old, were formerly brought before such courts, and a miscellaneous crowd of onlookers filled the rooms.

About twenty years ago it was urged that cases involving children be removed from the degrading influences of such surroundings. The result has been to estab-

lish in most cities a Juvenile Court, where offenses committed by minors are heard by special judges in an informal and intimate manner. This prevents children (and especially little girls) from having their offenses detailed before a roomful of curious hearers.

Another step forward was made when cases involving the domestic affairs and sexual immorality of adults were removed in certain cities from the ordinary magistrates' courts and heard by a special judge or judges, who, by remaining in this particular court, became familiar with the social aspects of this class of cases. Examples of this are the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, the Morals Court of Chicago, the Family Court of Cincinnati, and the Women's Court of New York City. Before sentence is imposed an effort is made to secure a report upon the character and circumstances of the accused, and whenever possible the method of probation under a competent officer is used, rather than the imposition of fines or imprisonment.

In connection with the work of the courts there is sometimes a clinic for the observation of the mentality of those who are brought before them. In order to discover whether or not the accused is capable of understanding the nature of his acts and is really responsible for them, tests for feeble-mindedness are applied. The court supplied with the necessary machinery for examining into both the health and the mentality of persons brought before the bar is undoubtedly better able to deal with matters of sex morality than is one with no such equipment. But, although the fact was recognized that

it was of special importance to the public to know whether or not a woman guilty of an offense connected with prostitution was suffering from venereal disease, prior to 1917 no statutory provision for making a physical examination to determine this fact was in existence. It was attempted in New York City, when in 1909 the Inferior Courts Act establishing the Woman's Night Court provided in section 79 for the routine physical examination of prostitutes. In 1911 this section was declared unconstitutional. As will be shown in a later volume, it was not until the campaign against venereal disease was undertaken by the Federal government during the war that a legal way was found to check its spread by the examination of persons brought into court.

The object of these new laws is to ascertain whether or not the person is afflicted with venereal disease in an infectious stage, and for the purpose of exercising the right of quarantine, if that, in the opinion of the health officer, is deemed necessary. The right of examination and quarantine in such cases is exercised only where the person cannot be trusted to keep from spreading the disease to others, and is entirely a public health measure rather than a part of punishment.

Turning now to the ordinary police or city court, let us examine hastily certain data regarding their disposition of cases. In his report on *Commercialized Prostitution in St. Louis,* Mr. J. G. Fertig studied the disposition of persons accused of prostitution and related offenses in that city. During 1915, 1,533 cases of women charged with prostitution were recorded. Of these, 120 had been in court several times during the year, so that

the actual number charged with prostitution was reduced to 1,197. The disposition of these cases is summarized in the following table:[1]

Disposition	Number of Cases	Percentages
Dismissed without trial	322	21.
Tried	1,211	79.
Discharged after trial	800	52.2
Convicted	411	26.8
Fine stayed	285	18.6
Punished	126	8.2
Paroled	78	2.4

Of the total number, 433 women were charged as keepers of disorderly houses and 1,100 were charged as inmates, street walkers, etc. Fines amounting to $15,648 were assessed, of which $2,320 was actually collected or time served in lieu thereof. It is obvious from this exhibit that a comparatively small number of women was actually punished, and that of those who were fined, very few paid.

During the same year there were fifty-eight cases of men charged with keeping houses of prostitution, and 234 were charged with frequenting such places. The disposition of their cases is also of interest.[2]

Disposition	Number of Cases	Percentages
Dismissed without trial	45	15.4
Tried	247	84.5
Discharged after trial	180	61.6
Convicted	67	23.
Fine stayed	52	17.8
Punished	15	11.

Fines amounting to $2,855 were assessed, and only $592 collected or time served in lieu thereof. It seems

[1] See Fertig, loc. cit., page 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 11.

evident in the case of men also that a comparatively small proportion of those arrested were convicted and punished.

The foregoing may serve as an illustration of an ordinary magistrate's court. Certain communities have seen the futility of arresting persons merely to dismiss them or impose nominal fines. As an example of a more vigorous type of prosecution, we may cite the disposition of cases in the courts of Los Angeles for the year 1916.[1] During that year, 785 women and 433 men were arrested and brought before the the bar. The disposition of these cases was as follows:

	WOMEN		MEN	
Disposition	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Forfeited bail	409	52.	191	44.
Dismissed	177	22.5	98	23.
Fined	9	1.5	45	10.
Imprisoned	32	4.	15	3.
Sentence suspended	152	19.	84	19.
Rewarded	6	76.	..	..

The bail forfeited in these cases amounted to over $15,000, the fines aggregated $1,250, averaging over $20.00 apiece. The jail sentences averaged nearly seventy days in the case of men and about ninety-five days in the case of women. The comparatively large proportion of suspended sentences in the cases of both men and women may indicate leniency on the part of the court, or a desire to give the offender another chance for reform.

[1] Report prepared by the Morals Efficiency Association.

We may add one more exhibit, showing

THE DISPOSITION OF CASES OF SEXUAL IMMORALITY IN THE LOWER COURTS OF BOSTON, NOVEMBER 30, 1907-1912[1]

Disposition	Houses of Ill-Fame	Inmates and Patrons	Common Night Walkers	Immoral Conduct on Streets	Total Number	Percentage
Discharged	68	27	18	44	157	4.
Fines only	232	933	6	19	1190	31.
Imprisoned only	91	100	693	82	966	25.
Fined and imprisoned	6	..	..	..	6	..
Convicted without penalty.	66	183	871	312	1432	37.
Pending, defaulted or held for Grand Jury	12	19	40	12	83	2.
Totals	475	1262	1628	469	3834	

The remarkable feature of this table is the comparatively small number of persons who were discharged—only 4 per cent of the whole number. Less than a third were fined, about one-fourth were imprisoned, and 37 per cent were either placed upon probation or sentence was suspended.

Probation. The use of probation under proper supervision seems to be a more helpful discipline than punishment by fine or imprisonment. Some persons have made the objection, however, that this method is sometimes loosely used and that persons escape paying penalties for their offenses by assuming a docile manner for a short period. In other cases the supervision of the offender is so slight that very little restraint is imposed.

[1] *Record of the Enforcement of the Laws Against Sexual Immorality*, Police Department of the City of Boston, 1913, pages 67-71.

Under the best auspices, from 75 to 90 per cent of the beginners who are placed upon probation appear to give a good account of themselves. After following up a group of 124 girl probationers for a period of five or six years, Miss Miner states that approximately one-third of the group are known to have made good.[1]

Children. Such advanced methods as those just mentioned are particularly appropriate in the case of children and have been employed by juvenile courts throughout the country. Repeated investigations in the case of juvenile delinquents have shown that children who transgress the laws are frequently the victims of bad home conditions and poor environment or are handicapped by bad heredity.

The reports of vice commissions have repeatedly shown that large numbers of children live in and about the red-light district. For instance, the Philadelphia Commission reported 1,542 children between the ages of six and sixteen living in the old district of that city.[2] In our own tour of investigation in 1917, we observed youngsters playing about the porches of disorderly houses in several cities, and our field investigators were frequently given information by young boys concerning the character of these places. It is obvious that such early familiarity with the ways of vice is demoralizing to young people.

It is also true that many children have had early improper sex experiences, frequently acquiring the knowledge of such matters from conditions existing in their

[1] See Maude E. Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 219.
[2] *Report of the Philadelphia Vice Commission*, pages 35 and 36.

own homes. Healy found that 15 per cent of the thousand young recidivists brought before the Boston Court showed a record of such harmful experiences.[1] The psychological examinations conducted in connection with juvenile courts have shown also that a large proportion of the girls who are apprehended for sex offenses are subnormal mentally. Healy found that 40 per cent of the group were feeble-minded, subnormal, dull, or showed psychoses.[2]

In view of the fact that sex offenses constituted 73 per cent of the complaints upon which girls were brought before the court, the importance of safeguarding children against the evil effects of their environment or of their poor heredity is obvious. Fine or imprisonment will not reach the roots of the evil in such cases. The results of recent studies in this field lead us to believe that many cases of prostitution may be attributed to the early corruption of weak and subnormal children.

Recommendations. Upon discussing the legal situation with officials in the cities visited we discovered that the prevailing opinion was that laws enough exist for dealing effectively with prostitution if they were properly enforced. As already indicated, many of the police officials favored a system of reglementation, while some of the public prosecutors and judges suggested that the police force itself was not active in suppressing vice.

Although there is some difference of opinion on this

[1] *Youthful Offenders: A Comparative Study of Two Groups of 1000 Young Recidivists, American Journal of Sociology, July, 1916,* page 50.

[2] Loc. cit., page 48.

point among different observers, the writer's view is that at this time in the cities visited the attitude of the administrations was generally that of enforcing the law, at least so far as outward manifestations were concerned. The higher courts were generally found to be strict in their interpretation of the law, although sometimes inclined to be over-particular in the matter of evidence. On the other hand, there was some indication of looseness on the part of the lower courts.

So far as the Bar was concerned, in twenty-two places we were informed that lax or unscrupulous lawyers would plead the cases of questionable offenders and attempt to get them off by any technicality. It is only fair to state that these groups did not seem to be large, but that a few men in each community were known to assume such practice.

The attitude of the legislators was clearly that of stiffening regulations against wrong doers. On the other hand, the general public was found to be uncertain and indifferent regarding the proper policy to favor in dealing with prostitution. In several places they were very tolerant and, assuming that prostitution is a necessary evil, appeared to take its traditional manifestations as a matter of course. On the whole, however, the ordinary man on the street appeared to be for law enforcement and outward decency, although he was often ignorant of the evils existing in his own community and uninformed as to more progressive measures aimed to meet the situation.

CHAPTER X

REFORMATORY AGENCIES

Need of Detention Houses to replace Jails.—Functions of a Clearing House.—Rescue Homes.—Industrial Schools and Reformatories.—Juvenile Protective Associations.—Girls' Protective Associations.—Law Enforcement Societies.—Social Hygiene Associations.

THE method of punishing prostitutes by fines has been abandoned in many of our advanced jurisdictions. It was seen that to impose a small fine upon a woman and let her go, simply drove her to further exertion in order to pay her own expenses and those due to the state. In fact, the system of fines might be considered a kind of informal license or permit to ply the trade of prostitution, so long as one was willing to pay for the privilege. Accordingly, in many localities, this method has been abandoned. In its place a plan of short sentences or probation has generally been introduced.

It is no less clear that confining women for brief intervals, without proper classification or discipline, may be not only useless but positively demoralizing. "A girl who had just taken her first immoral step before commitment to a reformatory wrote: 'I was no bad girl when I got put away in the Home. Now I know everything bad. I lived with the vilest women, the down-and-out kind, who have taught me and lots of other girls more innocent than I, how to solicit on the streets.'" [1]

[1] Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, page 227.

Reformatory Agencies

The need of systematic treatment has been amply proven in the case of inebriates. Regimen in specially designed institutions, together with the method of probation and parole, has been substituted for the old-fashioned plan of throwing people in jail to get sober, and then letting them out to repeat their indiscretion. A similar line of reasoning is beginning to be adopted regarding the care of prostitutes, and institutions are being adapted to meet the needs of those who require medical care, industrial training and moral supervision. In eighteen of the forty cities visited there was no adequate local provision for the custody of women prisoners. In many cases the common jail or workhouse was the only place to keep them.

Jails. The place to which prisoners of all kinds are ordinarily sent is the old-fashioned county jail. To this place are brought old and young offenders, men as well as women, witnesses and persons awaiting trial, as well as hardened criminals. The jails are frequently so small as to permit of no adequate classification of the prisoners, and so the novice and the old offender, the clean girl and the diseased prostitute are thrown together. Frequently, the place is little more than a pen, without proper provision for water and air. Sanitary provisions are frequently confined to night buckets, and vermin is often in evidence. In general the ordinary common jail is more a menace to health and morality than a safeguard.[1]

Some communities have established separate places of

[1] Edith Abbott, *101 County Jails of Illinois, and Why They Should be Abolished.* Chicago, 1916.

detention for women or have at least set apart several floors or blocks of cells for their use. Prisoners are partially classified according to age and degree of delinquency. Still, in the ordinary prison there is little provision for thorough examination and treatment of the inmates. Especially is there need of regular useful occupation. It is clear that such discipline is needed in the case of prostitutes who have been led into a vicious life through lack of training or who have lost in the underworld habits of regularity and industry.

Detention Homes. To meet the needs of women who are awaiting trial or whose sentence has not been determined by the court, a few of the more progressive communities have established detention homes, under public or private auspices.[1] To such places girls are brought and observed in order to determine what method of treatment each particular case demands. They are asked to tell about their family, their education and previous occupation. They are questioned concerning their school life and their previous institutional experience. These statements are then checked up by investigators who visit the girls' relatives and other persons who might give information concerning them. When such items of their histories have been ascertained they furnish a valuable basis for the court in determining a wise disposition of the case.

In addition to this general inquiry into the woman's background, she receives a physical examination by a

[1]For example, see the account of Waverley House, New York City, by Maude E. Miner in her *Slavery of Prostitution*, pages 162 and following.

woman physician. This usually includes a clinical examination and blood test for venereal disease. Upon the basis of this examination proper medical treatment is recommended and the woman may be removed to a hospital or sanatorium if that seems necessary. A mental examination with psychological tests to show the general intelligence and moral responsibility of the girl forms an important part of the inquiry. It has been found by such examinations that some of the girls are feeble-minded and need permanent custodial care. Others show degenerative tendencies and require removal to asylums.

While the women remain in the home they are given some regular simple work to perform, such as the care of the house, preparation of meals or the making of clothes. This work is varied by opportunities for reading, playing simple games and the enjoyment of music. Religious services are held by clergymen of different denominations and the superintendent or some wise visitor talks with the girl about her past career and her future plans.

Upon the basis of such observation and care a great deal can be discovered concerning the girl's qualities and needs. Recommendations are made to the judge concerning her and suggestions offered as to what institution may most appropriately deal with her case. In this way the detention home may become a sort of laboratory and clearing-house for testing and sorting cases that come before the court.

Upon the basis of such recommendations one of several dispositions may be made of the case:

1. Those women who are capable of improvement

without commitment to an institution may be released upon probation, under the care of a proper parole officer or a competent "big sister." In the case of young girls who are not morally imperiled by the conditions in their homes and neighborhoods, it is generally considered best to permit them to remain with their parents, under the surveillance of a wise probation officer.

2. Those who are feeble-minded or insane require permanent custodial care and should be removed to institutions which can exercise such control over their conduct as is necessary.

3. Those who require discipline and training or who are in danger in their home environment should be removed to industrial schools or reformatories, where they can have the proper regimen.

4. Confirmed and habitual offenders should be sent to institutions under an indeterminate sentence. For this purpose farm colonies are recommended, as affording that basis of outdoor life and vigorous occupation which seems necessary to tone up the health and morals of confirmed prostitutes. For the old worn-out women of the streets there seems to be no place except the poor farm or a private home for the aged and infirm.

The table on page 257 will indicate the disposition of women convicted in the Magistrates' Courts of New York City for the year 1917.[1]

Rescue Homes. Besides the jail and workhouse, the most usual place in which to put wayward girls or prostitutes is the so-called "rescue home." These homes are usually under denominational church control and are or-

[1] See report, page 21.

Disposition	Number of Cases	Percentage
Women convicted	1952	100.
Sentenced to Workhouse	1240	63.5
Sentenced to Penitentiary	1	..
Sentenced to reformatory institutions	275	14.1
Sentence suspended	65	3.3
Probation	258	13.2
Prison or Jail	108	5.5
Hospital	5	..

dinarily small institutions accommodating ten or twenty girls at a time, although they often care for two or three times that number during the course of the year. They are ordinarily supported by private contributions and sometimes receive subsidies from the municipality. Most of those investigated in our tour throughout the country received morally imperiled girls and unmarried mothers by voluntary commitment. They did not appear to be so successful in handling confirmed prostitutes.

One of the criticisms frequently passed upon such places by girls who had lived in them, was to the effect that those in charge were often unduly severe in their manner and that too great emphasis was laid upon sectarian rules. While we would not underestimate the value of religious influence in reclaiming wayward women, over-emphasis upon formal observances may repel those who have lived without much inward restraint.

The larger sectarian institutions, which are frequently a combination of reformatory and convent school, are of much the same character. Sometimes more elaborate industrial features are introduced and occasionally farm work or gardening is possible.

Industrial Schools and Reformatories. For the adequate treatment of delinquents some kind of reforma-

tory institution is necessary. In the case of young girls this is generally called an "Industrial School," of which Sleighton Farms, Pennsylvania, may serve as an example. This plant consists of 230 acres of land, an administration hall, a school and nine cottages. In these cottages about five hundred girls between the ages of eight and eighteen are housed and trained. Their work consists of household tasks, agricultural occupations and regular academic studies. There is provision for recreation and social life within and between the cottage groups.

The point that strikes one upon entering such colonies is the lack of walls and bars. Instead, one sees the young inmates working in the fields or carrying on the ordinary occupations of housewife or student. In this way the girl's health is built up, her mind is trained to acquire a new interest in things, and she is taught what wholesome recreation with her mates may yield.

The result of such training is the development of self-control, which is the most essential habit to be attained. Of similar character are the state reformatories for older women. By the end of 1917, seventeen states had created such institutions. The principal features of these are the following:[1]

1. The reformatory is preferably situated in the country, with surrounding land that may be cultivated by the inmates. This assures them wholesome living conditions and profitable occupation.

2. The better institutions are organized upon the cot-

[1] Helen W. Rogers, *Digest of Laws Establishing Reformatories for Women in the United States, Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Nov., 1917, pages 518-553.

tage plan, which permits a better classification of the women and a more normal type of home life.

3. Various industries and occupations appropriate to the institution are carried on by the women, who thus gain acquaintance with some of the fundamental things of life. At Bedford Hills, New York, the women did a considerable amount of construction in cement as well as carrying on the ordinary work of laundry, kitchen and sewing-room.

4. Such institutions are usually administered by a small board, upon which a number of women usually have places. The direct control is in charge of a superintendent, who is also preferably a woman. She in turn selects her subordinates.

5. An important feature of the institution is the thorough-going examination which is given the women upon entry and the careful observation followed up throughout their stay. In this way it is possible to discover what the girls need to strengthen their physical and moral health. If another institution seems better suited to meet their needs, they can be transferred thereto.

6. When sufficient time has elapsed to show a real improvement in disposition and capacity for self-control, the woman may, upon recommendation by the superintendent, be released upon action by a board of parole. As sentences are usually indeterminate—or rather, may extend from a given minimum to a given maximum time —treatment outside the institution is possible upon parole. The girl is often quietly followed up in the place where she has secured work, and upon satisfactory report for a year or so is usually released.

Some idea of the movement of women in and out of such institutions may be gained from the report of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills for the year ended June 30, 1917.[1]

Population, July 1, 1916,		Paroled July 1, 1916, to	
Adults	349	June 30, 1917	81
Infants	31	Replaced	21
Committed to June 30, 1917	123	Discharged	43
Returned	68	Transferred	11
Infants born or entered		Escaped (six returned)	12
with mothers	22	Infants placed or went out	
		with mothers	20
Total	593	Remaining in institution,	
		June 30, 1917,	
		Adults	372
		Infants	33
		Total	593

During this period forty-three women were returned for violation of parole, sixteen violated parole and were not found, and 127 who had been paroled were discharged, having fulfiled the conditions under which they were paroled. From these figures it will be seen that conditional liberty, while not always successful, is probably more so than arresting and discharging women without attempt at reformatory treatment and supervision outside of institutions.

Juvenile Protective Associations. As an outgrowth of probationary treatment by juvenile courts, and as a means of preventive and constructive work among children, societies have been organized for their care in practically every state of the Union. A large part of the work of such organizations consists in bringing to justice

[1] See *Seventeenth Annual Report*, pages 26 and 27.

adults who exploit and abuse youngsters and parents who neglect and corrupt them in their own homes. As an example of the prosecuting agencies, the numerous societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, which are represented in many communities, may be cited. As an instance of a broader preventive and constructive work we may note the activities of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

During the year 1916 this association was called upon 4,411 times by agencies or persons needing some service in connection with the care of children. In 312 instances people were not located or the cases were ill-founded. In 889 cases the matter was turned over to some other organization. The remaining 3,210 reports were in relation to difficulties in 2,219 families. In 823 families the difficulty was failure on the part of one or both parents to maintain a home. In 286 of these instances the drunkenness of one or both parents was involved. There were 879 cases of delinquency on the part of boys and girls, varying all the way from truancy to outright immorality. Forty-four were runaways, 57 were begging, 400 were engaged in street vending, 40 were feebleminded and 41 were participating in public entertainments of some sort. Many of these children were morally imperiled by conditions existing on the streets, in the factories and in places of amusement. During the year 590 complaints concerning bad conditions in places of amusement were investigated. It is from such corrupting sources that a supply of girls for prostitution and of young men with low ideals of life are apt to come. It has, therefore, been the purpose of the societies to

study conditions of juvenile employment, and to protect children in places of recreation such as parks and dance halls.[1]

Girls' Protective Associations. A further development of this same idea of preventive work amongst juveniles is the growth of the protective leagues for girls and young women. These volunteer leagues have as their purpose:[2]

> To protect girls from moral danger,
> To promote moral education,
> To stimulate right thinking and clean conversation,
> To improve economic conditions for girls,
> To secure wholesome recreation,
> To stimulate faith in the possibilities of life.[2]

Self-governing groups of from 25 to 75 members have been organized in neighborhoods where the girls live. The young women meet and compare notes as to what they have found in their own work and neighborhood, and learn from leaders ways in which many abuses may be overcome. For instance, they report immoral conditions in factories and improper proposals made when applying for a position. They try to assist girls whom they observe to be in need of friends and report disorderly resorts they may have observed. Addresses, discussions and various forms of entertainment fill out their meetings. In this way it is possible to throw around young women, who otherwise would be without advice and companionship, a protecting sense of decency and good-fellowship.

Law Enforcement Societies. More militant in their work directly affecting prostitution are various law en-

[1] See *15th Annual Report, Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago*, pages 15-23.
[2] Maude E. Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, Chapter X.

forcement societies which are to be found in most of our large cities. The New England Watch and Ward Society of Boston, the Committee of Fourteen of New York, the Committee of Fifteen of Chicago, and the Morals Efficiency Committee of Los Angeles, may be cited as examples.

Such societies are generally organized with a board of trustees composed of representative persons, and employ an executive secretary to do the active work. In this the secretary is generally assisted by a small number of trusted field scouts who observe and report violations of the law, together with such circumstances as may be used if necessary as evidence against the places or persons concerned. The society may warn the offender to desist or it may report the matter to the police or prosecuting attorney so that the case may be taken up directly in the courts.

As an example of one year's work we quote the following summary from the report of the Superintendent of the Chicago Committee of Fifteen for the year ending April 30, 1917.[1]

Evidence secured and informal notices sent to.....	170	places
Conditions corrected by owners without formal notice in	119	"
Formal notices served in.....	51	"
Injunctions requested, granted and enforced in.....	6	"

The work of the New York Committee of Fourteen in closing the disorderly Raines Law Hotels, and that of the Moral Efficiency Committee of Los Angeles have already been mentioned in the chapter on the Law and the Courts.

[1] See annual report, page 6.

Reformatory Agencies

We might here mention the work of numerous anti-vice and morals-welfare committees which from time to time in various places have dealt with certain aspects of sexual vice and the social evil. Some of them have attacked the evil of pornography and have done much to rid the mails and newsstands of indecent pictures and publications.[1] Others have dealt with the problem of prostitution in connection with abuses arising under the liquor traffic. The problem of prostitution has thus been approached from different angles.

The most important qualification of such work is that it should be wisely directed and consistently maintained. Many societies of the sort just mentioned have existed for a short time only, as the outgrowth of the efforts of some enthusiastic welfare committee. But not seldom, after a report has been made and recommendations adopted, the association has not continued to observe changes in the situation and to bring steady pressure to bear upon the officials charged with law enforcement.[2]

Vice Investigations. Perhaps the most important function of organizations such as those just mentioned has been the engineering of surveys of vice conditions in various American cities. We have already noted the fact that forty-three such investigations were made in

[1] E. g., New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.

[2] In sixteen of the forty cities visited there was no consistently active organization for the suppression of vice. Three places had church societies more or less interested in such work. Two had general bodies that occasionally dealt with this matter, and three trusted to public agencies, like the District Attorney or the Police, to maintain decency. Thirteen cities had special agencies to urge the enforcement of laws concerning prostitution. Eight of these might be considered active and effective in their work.

this country between 1910 and 1917. Their findings aroused not only the communities directly concerned, but awakened the country as a whole to an appreciation of the deplorable conditions. Their recommendations were made the basis of laws and administrative policies which have subsequently remedied many of the evils.

In the chapter on Vice Resorts, Table XI, we have indicated some of the conditions found in American cities by the investigations, and in Tables XII and XIII certain changes in those conditions made during the year 1917.

The recommendations of twenty-five commissions have thus been summarized by Mr. Mayer:[1]

TABLE XVI

RECOMMENDATIONS OF VICE COMMISSIONS

REPRESSIVE MEASURES

	Number Recommending
Enforce laws	25
Districts and Brothels	
Abolish district	25
Close houses	25
Prosecute owners and proprietors	7
Enact Injunction and Abatement Law	11
Hotels and Rooming Houses	
License, inspect and regulate hotels	12
Enact Tin Plate ordinance	7
License and control rooming and lodging houses	11
Saloons and Cafés	
Prohibit connecting rooms, private booths, screens, etc.	11
Restrict number of saloon licenses	6

[1] See *Passing of the Red Light District, Social Hygiene*, April, 1918, pp. 201-203.

Reformatory Agencies

	Number Recommending
Dance Halls	
License and supervise dance halls	8
Have woman officer or supervisor at dances	4
Prohibit sale of liquor or saloon connection through passes, etc.	4
Motion Pictures and Amusement Places	
Censor, supervise and license motion picture theaters	8
Supervise places of amusement	8
Parks and Public Places	
Suppress solicitation on the streets and in public places	9
Supervise, light, and police parks more adequately	8
Patrons and Prostitutes	
Prosecute patrons or publicly expose	6
Abolish fining system and penalize severely	8
Prohibit moving about of old prostitutes and recruiting of new	4
White Slavery and Age of Consent	
Enact state white slave law	8
Raise age of consent	8
Courts and Police	
Establish morals or night court and extend probation system	7
Appoint police women or extend powers	10
Commission	
Establish Morals Commission or Bureau	11

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Corrections and Custodial Care	
Provide for rescue and reform	18
Establish reformatory for women or home of refuge	17
With hospital and industrial training facilities	14
Provide for feeble-minded women and girls and separate delinquents from semi-delinquents	11

	Number Recommending
Children	
Keep children off streets at night and suppress rowdyism	4
Exclude messenger-boys (or minors) from night service and resorts	3
Recreation and Comfort	
Open up social centers in public schools (and churches)	8
Develop playgrounds, comfort stations and baths	9
Extend amusement and recreation facilities	9
Housing and Working Conditions	
Prevent overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in homes	3
Secure minimum or adequate wage for women and girls	7
Require social or welfare work in factories and stores	11
Supervise employment agencies	4
Medical Measures	
Make venereal disease reportable	15
Establish or enlarge free clinic and testing facilities	13
Prohibit advertisements and sale of fake cures	6
Require medical marriage certificate	8
Institute compulsory treatment of eyes of new-born	3
Disseminate knowledge of venereal perils	7
Empower boards of health to close houses under contagious disease ban	3
Education	
Provide Sex Education	18
in public schools to pupils	14
in training schools to teachers	5
to parents, stressing responsibility	6
Emphasize single standard and chastity	9
Extend vocational education	4

How far these recommendations have actually been carried out, we are unable in all cases to say exactly; but certain results were accomplished which may be attributed, at least in part, to the attention definitely

focused upon vice conditions by the investigations and the efforts which sought to follow out lines of work suggested by them.

In the first place, practically all the segregated districts in the cities visited were closed within a short time after the examinations were made and scattering resorts were also brought under more careful control. In six places some effort was made to care for the women who were dislodged from the open houses, but it must be confessed that this effort met with comparatively little success. Improved facilities for recreation were noted in twelve places. A plan for reporting venereal disease was carried through in at least three. Increased interest in sex hygiene was remarked in eight places. Coöperation of the local officials with the work of the vice committees was found in at least three.

One of the best results of the investigation was the stimulation of reform agencies in sixteen places. These societies have spread the clarified opinions gained through the surveys, and have thus assisted in educating officials and the general public to the necessity of dealing vigorously with the problem of prostitution. In his article on *Social Legislation and Vice Control,* Mr. Mayer has shown the measures adopted by thirty-eight typical American cities by 1918.[1] A comparison of these provisions with the recommendations of the investigating commissions of some years before will indicate how far American municipalities have taken cognizance of the suggestions that were brought out by the study of vice conditions.

[1] *Social Hygiene,* July, 1919, pages 337 and following.

Social Hygiene Associations. Somewhat more broadly educational than the law-enforcing societies in their point of view are the so-called Social Hygiene Associations which have sprung up rapidly throughout the country during the last six years. The purposes of such societies, as set forth by Dr. Eliot, First President of the American Association, are as follows: [1]

1.—To ascertain conditions regarding sexual vice in America.
2.—To study police regulations and statutes controlling vicious resorts.
3.—To advise and advocate effective legislation and procedure with regard to vice.
4.—To coöperate with other organizations in the suppression of disorderly resorts, drunkenness, indecent exhibits and other matters which contribute to prostitution.
5.—To promote personal hygiene.
6.—To change the attitude of the medical profession regarding secrecy concerning venereal disease.
7.—To promote education concerning sex morality and hygiene.

This address marked the organization of an American federation of societies to spread information concerning the perils of prostitution and to teach wise legal and medical measures to combat sexual evils, of which prostitution is a dramatic example. Various local and state societies have become affiliated with this national organization and work in their own territory to carry out its general purposes. A partial list of some important American agencies dealing with matters of sex morality and social hygiene is given in the appendix.

As an example of the work of one particularly active

[1] *Annual Report, American Social Hygiene Association,* 1913-1914, pages 5-9.

member of this family we may cite some of the accomplishments of the Oregon Social Hygiene Society.[1] Founded in September, 1911, this association early established an advisory department in connection with the office of the State Board of Health. In this clinic persons were warned against quackery and were instructed in sex hygiene. Conferences were held throughout the state, reaching men and women in shops and factories as well as in evening meetings. As a result of its vigorous campaign, many fake medical practitioners were put out of the state and patent remedies were practically eliminated. The society also advocated a health certificate as a requisite for marriage. It published and distributed thousands of circulars, conducted exhibits, and answered 16,000 letters and 36,000 requests for personal advice. As a result of its work the Society has been subsidized by the state, which thus recognized the value of its work to the citizens of Oregon.

An extensive and effective development of the work of social hygiene was the inclusion of a board to direct activities against sex immorality and venereal disease in connection with the Army and Navy during the war. The Secretaries of the Treasury, the War and the Navy Departments, a representative of the United States Public Health Service and the chief executive of the American Social Hygiene Association were included in the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. By this organization a program of sexual hygiene and a campaign against venereal disease have been promoted throughout

[1] See W. T. Foster, *Statewide Education in Social Hygiene, Social Hygiene*, July, 1916, pages 309 and following.

the country. Boards of health in the various states have been encouraged and subsidized to carry out the work. The significance of such a national movement is incalculable, but the story of these activities must be told in another place.

CHAPTER XI

CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL FORCES

The five great social institutions.—Homes and housing conditions: Tenements; Effects of overcrowding; Lodgings; Disorganization of home life; Marriage laws.—Business and industry: Wages; Unemployment.—Recreation: Playgrounds; Parks and Picnic grounds; Motion pictures; Censorship; Control of lighting and crowding; "Pickups;" Educational pictures; Theaters; Cabarets; Clubs; Poolrooms; Park centers; School centers.—The Schools and sex education—The Church.

PROSTITUTION has been called "The Social Evil," not only because it always involves several parties, but also because the roots of the system extend far into the structure of our basic social institutions. Unquestionably, the immediate causes of sex immorality are the desire of men and the frailty of women; but the conditions under which the characters of men and women are formed and the circumstances of their work and play furnish occasions for the unfolding of their dispositions in action. We have already seen how in some places prostitution developed a system which formed almost an organic part of the life of the community, or perhaps we should say, spread like a cancer throughout the body politic.

The Five Great Social Institutions. There are in the main five great social institutions which form and direct the lives of the citizens in a community. They are the home, the shop, social agencies for recreation, the school

and the church. These are the institutions that develop the child and engage the attention of growing men and women. They give scope and sanction to the activities of life and in the last analysis furnish the molds in which character and ability are cast. We may here briefly indicate how certain changes in them may affect "The Social Evil."

Homes and Housing Conditions. The most fundamental social institution is the home. It is there that children are trained and adults live for most of the time outside their working hours. But the city home has become a much more restricted place than formerly. People are obliged to live together in cities, and so houses have been placed in close proximity or reared several stories into the air. The great physical difficulty, therefore, with the homes of many people is the necessity for putting more individuals into a few rooms than these rooms can decently accommodate.

Tenements. In the northeastern part of the United States we find huge tenements containing many families. Apart from their lack of light and air, the principal objection to the tenement is, on the one hand, the close proximity into which people are brought, and on the other, the anonymity under which they may protect themselves. Almost any kind of person can obtain quarters in an ordinary flat or tenement house, and no one be the wiser concerning his or her business unless disorderly conduct rouses objections from the neighbors. In this way prostitutes have often found their way into apartments and conducted what are practically small parlor houses alongside respectable people. Occasionally children or older

persons learn of the business of these women and are led by curiosity to inquire into it. Sometimes the contrast between well-dressed ladies who seem to do nothing, and the shabby, hard-working women about them, is a disturbing influence on the minds of impressionable girls. New York City has had a long and painful experience with this aspect of prostitution, and has sought to remedy it by making the penalty for prostitution in tenement houses severe. The landlord is also held responsible if he is cognizant of the evil.

Effects of Over-crowding. Over-crowding, especially among foreigners and Negroes, was brought to our attention in twenty-five out of forty cities visited in 1917. In the Middle West the difficulty is with the small houses that have often been transferred to the use of two or three families, more particularly of immigrants. This has led to a certain disturbance of domestic economy and a loss of privacy which cannot help but be offensive. In the Southwest the worst feature is the miserable shacks of the Negroes and the Mexicans. Sometimes several families are crowded into one of these huts. For instance, in Dallas, Texas, we found fourteen Negroes occupying two rooms. In El Paso, several Mexican families occupied a one-room adobe shack. This sort of life in the presence of growing children unavoidably familiarizes them with matters which it seems unnecessary for them to observe. The presence of men lodgers is often a menace to young girls, and the sharing of bedrooms with relatives may lead to incest.

While such abuses are not to be confounded with commercialized prostitution, still the breaking down of bar-

riers of modesty and undue familiarity with intimate matters of sex frequently give rise to a promiscuity which may easily become commercial. Various movements to improve housing conditions in these localities or to remove people from crowded cities to the country are therefore to be considered as leading to moral health and so to the lessening of commercialized vice.

Lodgings. Equally as important as family dwellings and tenement houses are lodgings for unattached men and women. Our studies have shown that the unregulated lodging or rooming house is frequently as unsatisfactory from a moral as from a sanitary point of view. Strangers drift into these temporary harbors and readily depart without giving much account of themselves or their business. We have seen how frequently rooming houses are used for purposes of prostitution by street walkers and women who solicit in hotels and cafés. The presence of young men and women in houses where such practices are tolerated is unquestionably disastrous and may lead to the beginning of a life of immorality. Licensing and inspecting such places often results in the establishment of a better standard.

The coöperative homes for men and women established by the Salvation Army, the Young Women's Christian Association and other such agencies are of great assistance in securing decent lodgings for single persons and thus prevent much moral contamination. For instance, in Minneapolis there were thirteen homes for working girls, with a capacity of 742. But there were many times this number of young women in the city who were living independently. Practically all the good resi-

dances for young men and women are constantly held and have long waiting lists. Here is a field for the most constructive work which will do much to prevent the formation of undesirable companionships.

Disorganization of Home Life. Far more important, perhaps, than the lack of physical provision for decent family life is the disorganization of the domestic circle which often occurs in urban communities. Children will seek companionship on the streets and in places of public entertainment. Young people visit dance halls and theaters and the older folks attend clubs and lodges. In this way the interests of the members of the group become scattered. In a swarming tenement-house district neighborhood ties are difficult to form, so the family life is often broken and dissipated. This is particularly true of the households of immigrants, where the parents often have one standard, derived from life in their mother country, while the children rapidly absorb different customs from the city life about them. Consequently there is not that supervision of the associations and amusements of young people which is so desirable for them.

To meet this situation, neighborhood centers, such as those offered by social settlements in many cities, and district organizations, such as the Social Unit plan of Cincinnati, attempt to supply a common meeting place for the family and to stimulate interest in matters of local concern.

Marriage Laws. Even more fundamental than these efforts, however, for the safeguarding of sex life, are the laws and regulations controlling marriage and divorce. We have seen that a large proportion of prostitutes enter

the life of the underworld after having been married, and that some have been exploited in it by their husbands. On the other hand it is clear that many men with homes and children of their own seek the association of immoral women. The reasons for these transgressions are numerous, but the failure of family life to develop a strong and restraining affection sometimes leads one to believe that the institution itself has not always been properly adjusted by law to meet the fundamental needs of men and women. Indeed, certain radical writers contend that prostitution is but a complement of our modern institution of permanent and exclusive monogamy. They hold that deferred marriage, made necessary by our rising standard of comfort, is one great reason why men seek illicit sex gratification, and why women without homes of their own are ready to accept extra-legal relations. However this may be, we cannot at present see any more appropriate institution for developing sympathy between men and women and for the rearing of children than the monogamous family.

One suggestion, however, may be offered to the effect that laws controlling marriage and divorce should, so far as possible, be identical among the various states of the Union, so that a person might not contract or void relations in one commonwealth contrary to the rules of a neighboring state. More general insistence upon securing marriage licenses and certificates of health would help to check hasty and ill-judged unions. A more rational system of divorce procedure might prevent much marital misery and do away with the present hypocrisies of collusion. A further discussion of such topics, however,

would take us too far afield from the purpose of our study, which is essentially commercialized vice. Nevertheless, the relation between family life, or its lack, and prostitution is one that is obvious to any student of the subject who has gone beyond the mere provisions of police regulation.

Business and Industry. The economic interpretation of history, which holds that the way in which people get their living determines their social institutions and even their habits of mind, is largely true. Certainly, conditions of work and the amount of compensation determine a person's outlook upon life and his command of its resources. The situation regarding child labor described by Shaftsbury in England, the brutalizing work of women in the mines, the debasing effect of slavery in this country, all showed the reaction of labor conditions upon sex relations and family life. Many investigations in this country have brought out the disastrous effect of night work for women and children, and most of our commonwealths have now adopted measures to check such abuses. Regulation of the hours of labor, so as to permit leisure for rational enjoyment, and provision for decent sanitary arrangements in the factories, both have for their purpose the preservation of the dignity of human life and the prevention of the brutalizing and degrading effects of harsh and improper working conditions. The introduction of social welfare work in many of our large stores and factories and shops, and the employment of a welfare secretary to look after the problems of the personnel, are further steps in the same direction.

It has sometimes been stated that work in stores and

factories has a demoralizing effect upon young women who are thrown into intimate contact with employers and customers who may have evil designs against them. It has also been held that the association of the employees is sometimes upon a low level and encourages vulgar conversation and immorality. Finally, it has been claimed that the insufficient wage paid in many employments does not permit a young woman to live properly without assistance from some outside source, and when her family cannot aid her she may be forced to adopt an immoral life.

The first two points have been dealt with in a report of the Committee of Fourteen in New York.[1] Concerning the relation of women workers in stores with employers and customers, the investigators found that exceedingly few of the many stories related could be traced to an extensive basis of fact. It is true that some immoral employers and employees might be found in any large establishment, but comparatively few business houses could run their organization with a corps of prostitutes and a staff of procurers. The employees of some of the establishments in the cities visited in our own investigation had a rather bad reputation with regard to morals; but, so far as we could discover, this was due rather to the presence of a few loose characters in a large body of employees, rather than to any general demoralization of the force.

The investigation by the Committee of Fourteen, referred to above, admits that among the employees of some stores there was a vulgar tone of conversation and

[1] *Department Store Investigation*, September, 1915.

some laxity in conduct which might easily be interpreted as immoral. But examination showed that these men and women had rather free notions of matters proper for discussion, and that their conduct was often due rather to ignorance of the rules of propriety than to any inherent viciousness.

Wages. Concerning the matter of wages, a number of investigations have brought out the fact that no close correlation can be shown between the amount of compensation and immorality on the part of women. A considerable number of girls who have drifted into prostitution began their career in vice while living at home, and many of those who followed it had well-paid positions. The determining influence seems to have been rather the associations of the work and the woman's character. To this must be added the remark so frequently made, that it is not so much the girl's low wages, as her poor home, which results in her entering prostitution. Certainly, poverty is a comprehensive term, involving not merely the weekly income of the girl herself, but the morale of her parents. It also connotes a dearth of resources for recreation, education and many of those things that make life worth living. Consequently, if we were to say that poverty in this large sense leads many women to adopt what seems to be an easier way, it would be true. But to attempt to show any direct relation between the amount in a girl's pay envelope and her degree of virtue seems impossible.[1]

[1] See *Report on Conditions of Women and Children Wage Earners in the United States, Volume XV, Relation Between Occupation and Criminality of Women*, pages 79-114.

Nevertheless, minimum wage commissions in fourteen states and the District of Columbia have established certain levels of compensation for women and minors which, they believe, will assure a reasonable basis for independent living in decency, health and simple comfort. Such amounts usually ranged from $6 to $10 a week before the war—a sum modest enough at the present time. Yet it is comforting to believe that, by guaranteeing such a minimum, the health and welfare of women workers will be so safeguarded that the pressure of cold and hunger need not drive many of them to adopt a career of vice.

Unemployment. Unemployment, as a reason for temporary and periodic entrance into prostitution, is a more difficult matter with which to deal. When a woman adopts a certain standard of living and is deprived for a long period of her income, she is often reduced to comparative poverty as really as though she lacked the very necessities of life. It is well known that in many of the needle trades there are long periods of slack work alternating with rush seasons. Such uneven distribution of employment and income may become a temptation to a girl without resources to dip into the life of prostitution. That this occurs cannot be gainsaid. Nevertheless, our records do not show an undue proportion of women recruits to prostitution from the seasonal industries. Rather, it seems to be low-skilled occupations, like domestic service, or, perhaps we should say, those lines that attract only a low degree of ability, which yield an undue proportion of recruits. Still, the question of unemployment for women is a serious one. Many of our records

show that girls were led into wrong doing at the time when they were not occupied.

To meet the situation it has been urged that free employment agencies under public control extend their service in order to place the large number of shifting women workers who appear in our cities. Further, our more advanced cities have established classes for industrial training, so that girls may be equipped to earn their living in profitable lines of occupation. To these agencies must be added provision for vocational guidance, in order that the schoolgirl may choose a line of work adapted to her abilities and one which will yield her adequate and regular support when she has mastered it.

Recreation. Not all of life is made up of work and sleep. There is a certain amount of leisure which may be used for strengthening and refreshing the mind and body and for seeking those things which the individual really enjoys. It is this part of one's existence which may become the means of building up spiritual resources or which may be squandered and wasted in dissipation.

In leisure moments one is more natural and unconventional than when under the stress of ordinary duties. The mind seems to assume an easy negligée and turns to such diversion as it pleases. It is at such times that men and women meet for social intercourse. It is then that companionships are formed and sex relationships developed. These associations may be fine or they may be vicious. While some people enjoy music and study literature, others patronize low shows and doubtful resorts. In the course of our investigation we were interested to discover exactly in what way their leisure time

was employed by the masses of the people. It is a well-known fact that the patronage of disorderly houses is greatest on Saturday evenings, Sundays, and during holidays. Men who have time, money and the inclination to spend it in vicious resorts, use these opportunities to do so. As an indication of the use of leisure by women workers the following list is presented:[1]

Assistance in home duties.	1140	Music	63
Shows	711	Church	61
Dancing	482	Gymnastics	34
Out-of-door sports	407	Visiting	18
Reading	181	Sleeping	11
Sewing and fancy work...	80	Cards	7

In our investigation of forty cities, we found that the most popular amusements were playgrounds for children, parks and picnic grounds, motion pictures and theaters, dance halls of various kinds and the omnipresent pool-room. In nine of the places the authorities consulted stated that public recreation was meager or inadequate, and in an equal number certain features were reported to be positively bad or demoralizing in their effects. Some of the features of public recreation have already been dealt with in the chapter on vice resorts. Here we may briefly indicate a few of the connections that exist between certain of the agencies and commercialized prostitution.

Playgrounds. It is generally recognized that boys and girls without opportunities for play are apt to get into mischief. We have also seen that in the case of growing boys the lack of interesting and vigorous games may

[1] *Annual Report of Board of Public Welfare*, Omaha, 1916, page 67.

result in practices which sometimes lay the foundation for vicious habits later in life.

For the purpose of meeting this need of city children playgrounds have been established where clean, active sport takes the place of aimless loitering or harmful occupations. Many cities throughout the United States have equipped small plots of ground with simple apparatus or laid off places for the playing of games. Not only is it necessary to furnish space, but also to supply direction and leadership. When sympathetic and energetic play leaders show the children what is real fun, the response is prompt and eager. Not only are young bodies trained by wholesome exercises, but the spirit of sportsmanship and the habit of team play are developed, which are most useful in offsetting vicious tendencies.

Parks and Picnic Grounds. For older people, amusement parks and picnic groves furnish opportunities for rest and play. Some of these have little more than the natural features of greensward and water front to attract those who seek quiet after the day's work. Others are supplied with various devices to amuse and entertain, such as Coney Island and similar places offer in such abundance. The principal danger of such places, from the point of view of sexual immorality, is the freedom and the lack of that supervision which seems almost essential in places where people go to have fun.

Many young men and women go in small groups or independently and in such resorts make the acquaintance of persons of the other sex. This "picking up" or flirtation is often innocent enough, but it may lead to association with persons of evil and designing minds. In that

case the free association allowed in such places may be dangerous. Couples may wander off through the woods or across the water and their intimacy develop into indecency. In some of the parks the unlighted sections have been used for immoral purposes. Professional prostitutes and cadets may repair to such places for the purpose of securing new recruits. The Assistant Judge of the Juvenile Court of Cook County recently spoke of the prairies adjacent to an amusement park as "the largest house of assignation in Chicago." [1]

The principal requirements for the safeguarding of such places are adequate lighting and supervision. Eight vice commissions made this specific recommendation.

Motion Pictures. One of the most popular forms of indoor amusement at the present time is the moving picture show. In our investigation this was mentioned more often as a recreational resource than any other single form. In some of the larger cities there are hundreds of these establishments, and the attendance upon their exhibitions numbers many thousands daily. They are particularly attractive to women and children, because of the low price of admission and the greater convenience of attending a show in the neighborhood which often runs continuously from noon until nearly midnight.

In the recommendations of ten vice commissions in this country, we find statements to the effect that the "movies" have a great influence on the minds and morals

[1] L. de K. Bowen, *The Road to Destruction Made Easy*, Juvenile Protective Association of 1915, page 5. See also *Report of Massachusetts White Slave Commission*, page 20; *Social Evil of Newark*, page 107; Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, page 76.

of young people, and that sometimes the suggestions and associations of these places connected them with the business of prostitution. The specific recommendations of the commissions indicate the principal dangers involved.

1. It is stated that in some places suggestive and immoral films are exhibited.

2. Bad lighting and the crowding of the hall sometimes lead to undue familiarity and improper handling of women and children.

3. The presence of many unattended young people in such places brings immoral men and women who seek to make the acquaintance of susceptible persons.

We may briefly consider these points in the light of our investigation and suggest what remedies have been adopted in American cities.

Censorship. Concerning the character of films exhibited, the following report, made by the Ministerial Association of Lancaster, Pa., may indicate the results:[1]

65	were found to be	good,
31	" " "	bad,
38	" " "	indifferent,
30	showed	infidelity, immorality or lust in objectional ways,
19	"	intemperance and drunkenness,
7	"	resorts and habitués of the underworld,
5	"	kidnapping and blackmailing.

The standards of judgment concerning what is immoral and suggestive will of course differ. It is certainly questionable whether many of the so-called "sex-problem" films intended by the producers to serve educational ends

[1] *Report of Moving Picture Shows Investigation*, 1917, page 4.

have sufficient artistic value to warrant their emphasis upon immoral relations. It must be said that comparatively few positively indecent films are intentionally produced, because the cost of their production and the public nature of their exhibition would render the venture financially unsafe. Besides, most of the reputable companies desire the patronage of the large number of women and children who frequent moving picture shows.

In order to safeguard this feature of the exhibition, censorship, either under private auspices, as the National Board of Motion Picture Censorship, or under public control, as in the case of the Chicago Police, or some special agency supported by welfare organizations, has in many instances been established. The result of such supervision has been to eliminate most of the positively objectionable features. The only difficult point to determine is what aspect of the portrayal of vicious conduct may be considered harmful. In his study of vice control in thirty-eight American cities, Mr. Mayer found that twenty-four towns had made provision for the censoring of moving pictures and only seven had not.[1] The movement to suppress undesirable exhibitions therefore seems to be general throughout the country.

Control of Lighting and Crowding. The old-fashioned converted store, with its closely placed seats and almost total lack of light and ventilation, was a feature of the early stage of motion picture enterprise which with the expansion of the business has now pretty well disappeared. The requirements of health and fire departments have made it necessary to obviate some of these

[1] *Social Hygiene*, July, 1919, pages 337 and following.

evils. Nevertheless, in the semi-obscurity of some places are still seen instances of embracing and we have had reports of flagrant acts of indecency and vice. This matter seems to be one for the police to control and will vary with the character of the neighborhood and patronage. Twenty-two of the thirty-eight cities studied by Mr. Mayer required good lighting in motion-picture places, and eighteen made provisions for policing and supervising them. Practically all were licensed and thus could be disciplined for any open or notorious disorderly conduct.

"Pick-ups." The third abuse mentioned in several of the vice reports was the presence of foolish young girls who were sometimes led astray after flirtations with men who evidently frequented the theater for such purposes. Our studies have shown well authenticated cases of such meetings. The danger, however, is one that is common to any public resort. It seems to be dealt with most effectively by prohibiting unattended young persons from frequenting such places and also by stationing in them a policeman or matron, who will warn or arrest objectionable persons.

Educational Pictures. The motion picture may become a positive factor for good as well as a force for evil. Pictures of events in current history, scenes of travel, studies in natural history, have been widely spread by the use of films. Now sex educators have seized upon this medium to spread their propaganda against venereal disease and the abuses of white slavery. Unquestionably, the picture is a powerful teaching agency and, if the subjects are wisely chosen, the effects of this popular

enlightenment may remove at least a part of the ignorance which is responsible for some of the abuses of prostitution.

Theaters. The theater, although an historical outgrowth of the rites of religious ceremony, came, under the Puritans, to be looked upon as an agency of the devil. Unquestionably some of its exhibitions and associations are not elevating. The so-called problem play which starts people discussing the ethics of the eternal triangle, and the musical comedy which amuses the tired business man with its irresponsible chatter and its display of feminine charms, cannot be considered helpful in the development of sex morals.

Some theatrical exhibitions, however, are directly incitive to vice and profligacy. Low burlesque theaters appeal directly to the sex impulse by showing about the corridors pictures of half-dressed women with a promise of a "warm" show inside. A few of the exhibitions live up to this promise, allowing coarse jesting by the comedians and suggestive antics on the part of the chorus. Occasionally an oriental dancer is introduced as an additional attraction. A visit to some of these shows reveals, by the conversation and actions of the men, that immoral suggestions on the stage fall into receptive minds. Many young boys attend these shows. It is common report that the women who travel with some of these shows are venal and licentious. The writer recently saw one exhibition in which the manager introduced the women of the cast individually by name and later suggested that if these charmers were taken out after the show they should

be returned in time for the performance the following day.

Cabarets. A most insidious form of amusement is the so-called cabaret, which has spread so rapidly in American cities during the past few years. In connection with the serving of food and drinks, entertainment is provided or opportunity is furnished to dance. When properly managed there can be no objection to music with meals, but the introduction of drinks and women entertainers may lead to undesirable complications. When the entertainers are permitted to drink with guests, the danger of using this as an opportunity for solicitation is very great.

This danger is present not only in cheap resorts, but many of the more fashionable places, where *"thés dansants"* are given, become the haunts of high-class prostitutes and their male counterparts who seek the companionship of gay partners. Dancing makes introduction and the change of partners easy. During interludes of the orchestra cards may be passed or an invitation to call be extended. Waiters and attendants are often adept messengers and intermediaries. Although the presentation of guests is often conducted with due regard to conventional proprieties, many investigators are convinced that this type of resort is often a most insidious lure for young persons and lonely strangers, who in seeking innocent amusement are easily led by the atmosphere of freedom into familiarity with doubtful companions.

The best remedy for this type of abuse is to divorce the so-called "wine-woman-and-song combination." That is, banish the sale of intoxicating drinks from places

where both sexes meet for recreation and, on the other hand, forbid entertainment in places where intoxicants are sold.[1] In this way the likelihood that the desire for food or entertainment may lead to undesirable associations is greatly lessened.

Clubs. The so-called night clubs, which have in some places been organized in connection with restaurants or cafés, were frequently merely a means of avoiding provisions of the excise law, permitting the resort to remain open after hours. Strangers were admitted to these clubs at once upon payment of a small fee. Under guise of an association, groups of people were thus allowed to continue drinking and dancing until very late hours. There seems to be practically no justification for the existence of such "clubs."

Another type of association frequently met was a small group of persons calling themselves a club, who united for the sole purpose of giving an occasional dance or outing. For this purpose they sometimes secured a special bar license, permitting the sale of drinks until a late hour. The parties of such associations were widely advertised and tickets sold to any one who would purchase them. Because of the lack of responsible management some of these events were marked by disorderly conduct, and the presence of undesirable persons increased the danger to innocent young people who might avail themselves of such opportunities for recreation.

The appropriate remedy for this type of abuse is the requirement of a license from the city authorities which

[1] Although this paragraph was written before the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, the counsel still holds good.

shall involve submitting a statement of the incorporation of such associations or at least a list of responsible persons who may be looked up. Insistence upon a reasonable time to elapse between applications for the license and the holding of the event renders it possible to investigate the standing of the applicants.

Bona fide private clubs have also been found subject to certain abuses which connect them with prostitution.[1] Sometimes prostitutes or even innocent young girls have been brought to club rooms and induced to drink. Disorderly conduct and immorality have been known to follow such license. The entertainments of some of these clubs were also found to have been highly improper and suggestive in their character. Indecent dances have sometimes been presented for the delectation of members. The remedy for such abuses appears to be a more strict scrutiny in granting licenses, occasional inspection by proper officers and the prompt investigation of reasonable complaints on the part of citizens.

Pool Rooms. One of the favorite resorts of young men in many towns is the pool or billiard room. Such places, when properly conducted, furnish a much needed resource for indoor recreation. But, under careless management, these resorts may become the rendezvous of gamblers and pimps who use them to meet young men and introduce them into ways of dissipation. Our investigation showed a number of poolrooms throughout the country in which gambling, filthy conversation, peddling of objectionable cards and even actual solicitation

[1] See *Second Report on Vice Conditions at Lancaster*, 1915, pages 41 and 42.

were tolerated. Some of these places were the "hang-outs" of pimps who there obtained patrons for their women. The most serious aspect of such solicitation was the youth of many of the patrons.

In order to meet this danger, poolrooms in many places are now licensed, which regulation renders them subject to police control. Hours of closing are also prescribed and minors or boys under eighteen may be forbidden to enter.

Park Centers. It is impossible to meet the needs for wholesome recreation by merely insisting upon police control. Young people must have places to play under proper conditions. Not merely must the site be provided, but suitable direction and supervision must be added. Perhaps the best example of adequate equipment for recreation is offered by the small park recreation centers in Chicago. These places contain an athletic field, well equipped indoor and outdoor gymnasia for men and women, a field house with baths and rooms for recreation, a restaurant, library and above all a swimming-pool. Thousands of young people make use of these places during the season. Police records show that juvenile delinquency tends to fall off in neighborhoods where such resources are provided.

School Centers. Another solution for the same general need of recreation, with more emphasis upon the indoor aspect, is the school center, as exemplified in New York City, Rochester, Milwaukee, and elsewhere. An ordinary school is thrown open in the evening and various classes for social, athletic and literary purposes are organ-

ized. Into these classes groups of young people from the neighborhood are brought and their leisure is thus profitably employed. Such measures, while not of course directly aimed at prostitution, dry up the sources from which much of the demand arises. Eight of the vice commissions urged the organization of these centers, and in twenty-six of the cities investigated by Mr. Mayer such places were found.

The School and Sex Education. Inasmuch as the public school is the place in which growing boys and girls spend a large proportion of their waking hours, it is to this agency that we must turn for the instruction which either cannot be or is not given to the mass of pupils in their own homes.

The question of specific education upon sex matters in public schools has been widely discussed in recent years. In several places a beginning of such instruction has been made. Sex education is, of course, a much broader matter than the mere imparting of information. This is implicitly acknowledged when eighteen out of twenty-five vice commissions in the United States specifically recommended sex education as a means for checking prostitution and venereal disease. Fourteen of these commissions specified that information should be given to pupils in the public schools, five urged the teaching of such matters in normal schools, and six emphasized the responsibility of parents.

In view of these recommendations it is interesting to note what was found in this respect in thirty-four American cities visited during 1917, viz.:

In 12, no regular sex education was given;
In 10 others, a little was given sporadically by lectures;
In 7, instruction was given in the upper classes, principally to girls;
In 3 other places, the teaching of such matters had been discontinued in the schools, or was forbidden, because of the objection of parents, while in the
2 remaining places, the talks were for parents only.

On the whole, it may be said that the matter of sex education in this country has not been thoroughly threshed out by the experts. The general impression appears to be that direct teaching upon such matters by inexperienced instructors is unwise. Nevertheless, the schools can do much through their nature study, their playgrounds and the general influence of the teacher to build up a sane and wholesome attitude in the minds of young people regarding sex life.

In several cities lectures have been given by physicians and nurses to parents, and this has sometimes been accomplished through private agencies. Such teaching is apparently better than direct approach to the children in classes. The result of parental counsel when wisely given is unquestionably better than that of the grade teacher. In the past the majority of boys and girls have received no information concerning such matters from wholesome sources, but have picked up scraps of distorted knowledge from ignorant companions or doubtful literature. This was clearly shown in a study of nearly one thousand college boys made by Dr. Max Exner,[1]

[1] See *Social Hygiene*, Vol. I, March, 1915, page 321; and J. E. Peabody, *Sex Education in the Homes and High Schools, Social Hygiene*, July, 1916.

who found that two-thirds of the young men received their first useful instruction after puberty, whereas the great majority received their first strong impression concerning sex matters and had contracted bad habits before that time. In this way the whole matter of sex relations had come to be regarded improperly and bad results inevitably followed. Now the aim is to inculcate a wholesome attitude of mind and give the boy and girl a feeling of responsibility and respect for the other sex. Certainly it is impossible to scare young people out of doubtful practices by descriptions of the effects of venereal disease. It is the positive side of pure, clean love rather than discussion of morbid conditions that appeals to young persons and affects their conduct in life.

The Church. Perhaps the greatest influence for ideal good in any community is the Church. Its teachings regarding personal morals and social justice are lofty and uncompromising. We find that in general the church people are back of reform movements and that in some places an organized effort on their part has been made to cleanse the city from the worst features of public prostitution. Unfortunately, however, the churches are not always united concerning a practical program of action. Sometimes a meeting will pass resolutions concerning what ought to be done, and then establish no adequate permanent committee to follow up the protest. Nevertheless, it must be said that in four or five of the communities observed, agencies managed and financed by the churches were doing good service in checking up the authorities upon law enforcement and in supplying means to meet the needs of the community. It seems probable,

however, that organizations designed especially for such work, without the limitation of sectarian control, are best adapted for consistent reform movement.

Aside from specific reform movements, the church has an important vocation as a socializing agency. In many places classes and assemblies connected with the congregation are a most useful means of interesting young people and of directing their association under proper influences. Personal counsel and advice to young folks can often be given by their older friends in the congregation, while the restraining effects of religious auspices tend to prevent mirth from becoming disorder. An attempt to enlarge parish activities about city churches and to organize the towns upon the neighborhood basis is a sane and wholesome step toward development of the proper morale in city districts.

It will always be the function of the pulpit to urge members of religious congregations to refrain from participation in vice and to abstain from sharing in profits derived from it. The example of a few courageous clergymen in San Francisco and elsewhere has shown what a powerful response can be obtained from the public if church leaders have the energy and wisdom to direct an active campaign against evil conditions. Perhaps even more than by any militant movement against prostitution, the church can be successful in organizing public opinion for decency and in stimulating action through appropriate agencies to rid the community of vice in its various forms.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Evaluation of factors in Prostitution.—Weakening home discipline.—Relaxing sex restrictions.—Enlightenment concerning prevention.—The right to happiness.—The commercial basis of enjoyment.—Constructive measures.—A program of reform.—Social morality.

In the preceding chapters we have already considered some of the more important contributory factors which enter into commercialized prostitution. How many of these are of primary importance and how many may be secondary in any case or group of cases it is impossible to say. As to the prostitute herself, frequently the circumstance that brings about her downfall may be some slight occurrence, while many conditions in her past life so influenced her character that she succumbed on this occasion. In other words, we must distinguish between predisposing and efficient causes.

In the second place, we must distinguish between that combination of circumstances or disposition of character which occasion the girl's first transgression, and those conditions in and about her which led her to adopt prostitution as a means of livelihood. In the case of the first mistake it is generally misguided affection, ignorance, love of fun and unfamiliar surroundings which brings about her undoing. This first misstep may lead to her

entering commercialized vice, but in a great number of cases it does not. On the other hand, the adoption of prostitution as a business, or remaining in it, involves somewhat different motives and circumstances. The desire to make easy money, the love of luxury, pressure from procurers and other agents of vice, here appear more important. It is our purpose to emphasize various conditions which may influence a woman to enter the business. Herewith is presented a combination of some of the many personal and environmental factors which have been mentioned by various investigators.

TABLE XVII

FACTORS IN PROSTITUTION

1.—*Family.*
- (a) Poor heredity.
- (b) Bad training and example.
- (c) Broken and neglected home.

2.—*Living Conditions.*
- (a) Unattractive homes.
- (b) Over-crowding and lodgers.
- (c) Rooming house and hotel life.
- (d) Institutional life.

3.—*Neighborhood.*
- (a) Vicious and disorderly locality.
- (b) Street life.
- (c) Lack of neighborliness.

4.—*Personal.*
- (a) Physical abnormalities.
- (b) Mental deficiency.
- (c) Vicious traits and habits.

5.—*Education.*
- (a) Ignorance of language and customs.
- (b) Slight and defective instruction.
- (c) Lack of practical training.
- (d) Insufficient moral and religious influence.

6.—*Recreation.*

(a) Disorderly cafés and restaurants.
(b) Ill-regulated dancing.
(c) Low theaters and exhibitions.
(d) Unsupervised parks and pleasure resorts.
(e) Suggestive books and pictures.
(f) Bad companions.

7.—*Economic.*

(a) Poverty and love of luxury.
(b) Improper working conditions.
(c) Monotonous, irregular and low-paid jobs.
(d) Lack of employment.

8.—*Sexual.*

(a) Early sex experience.
(b) Ignorance of sex matters.
(c) Seduction, force or fraud.
(d) Abnormal sex impulse.

9.—*Marital.*

(a) Hasty and ill-judged marriage.
(b) Deferred marriage.
(c) Desertion, separation or widowhood.
(d) Cruelty and neglect.

10.—*Public Attitude.*

(a) Toleration of vice.
(b) Double standard of morals.
(c) Political corruption and inefficiency.

It is not claimed that all of these are equally important. Some may be merely contributory circumstances, others are more strictly causal in their nature. A survey of this bewildering number of factors indicates that many circumstances which lead to the formation of character and which control the lives of men and women in our modern communities may induce susceptible natures to adopt the ways of vice.

Attempts to evaluate the relative importance of certain factors have been made. Some of these have been presented in our chapter upon "The Prostitute." It is clear

also that the unregulated desire of men is an important element. An analysis of conditions which stimulate this demand has also been presented in the chapter upon "Patrons and Exploiters." From all these studies it is evident that many factors are involved in various combinations, and it is therefore often impossible to deal with any one of them apart from the others. On the following page is presented a chart of the combinations of causal factors found in the cases of 111 younger prostitutes examined by Dr. Bingham.

It will be observed that in these cases bad companions and subnormal mentality are the most important single factors mentioned. The table does not show the relative weight of the different elements involved. Dr. Bingham states that environment appeared to be the main influence in fifty-three cases (47.7 per cent). Physical conditions seemed to be the leading cause of delinquency in only one case, and the same was true regarding habits. Mental condition, including traits, was considered to be of first rank in 50 per cent.

If, without considering the weights given to the factors, we add them together, we have the proportional importance of each as presented in the last line of the table. Considering the first five factors as personal and the last four as environmental, we note that subjective causes constitute 42.6 per cent of all mentioned, while environmental influences are 57.4 per cent of the total factors. This may indicate the significance of living conditions in the formation of character and suggest that constructive measures as well as reformatory agencies

Summary and Conclusion

TABLE XVIII

COMBINATION OF IMPORTANT CAUSATIVE FACTORS FOUND IN THE HISTORIES OF 111 PROSTITUTES

Number of Cases	Factors Combined								
	Heredity	Physical Condition	Mental Condition	Traits	Habits	Broken Home	Institution	Delinquent Siblings	Bad Companions
1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
2	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
7	7	..	7	..	..	7	..	..	7
5	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	5	5
3	3	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	3
3	3	..	3	..	..	3	3	..	3
4	4	..	4	..	..	4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3	..	..	3	3	..	3
1	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1
3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
3	..	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..
2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
9	..	..	9	..	..	9	..	..	9
1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1
6	..	..	6	..	..	6	..	6	6
1	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1
5	..	..	5	..	..	5	5	..	5
7	..	..	7	..	7	7	7	..	7
2	..	2	..	..	..	2	2	2	2
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
18	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	18
1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3
3	..	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	3
3	..	..	3	..	3	..	3	..	3
6	..	..	6	..	..	..	6	6	6
2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Cases...111	33	8	94	8	18	57	37	25	98
Percentage of Total Cases.....	29.8%	7.2%	84.7%	7.2%	16.2%	51.4%	33.3%	22.5%	88.5%
Percentage of Total Factors.....	8.7%	2.1%	24.9%	2.1%	4.8%	15.1%	9.8%	6.6%	25.9%

are needed in order to cope adequately with the social evil.

Certain disintegrating tendencies in modern life are repeatedly brought to the attention of the investigator by

those who are actively engaged in corrective and preventive work. Some of these are difficult to define, because they constitute a moral atmosphere or background rather than a specific condition in modern communities. Perhaps they can best be presented under a few headings as follows:

Weakening Home Discipline. The first condition that leads to the demoralization of young people is the weakening of home discipline. There is abundant evidence for the belief that strict notions of parental authority are being rapidly modified. From choice or necessity many fathers and mothers now leave the discipline and instruction of their children to others. The city flat is too restricted for active play and young folks seek the streets. Here they are thrown into contact with all sorts of chance companions. Parents frequently do not know the whereabouts of their children for long periods during the day or night. The boy is supposed to be at school or at work, but he may actually be loafing in a poolroom. The girl says she is going to the movies or to stay over night with a friend. As a matter of fact she may frequent a low dance hall or go off with a strange man. The old-fashioned idea of chaperonage has almost disappeared among our independent young women, and many parents seem to believe that it is all right for their half-grown daughters unattended to spend most of the night upon the streets or in some pleasure resort.

Relaxing Sex Restrictions. A second source of danger to undisciplined youth is the growing freedom of relations between the sexes. Mere boys and girls frequently go in couples for long trips in the country. The

suburban trolley, the excursion boat, the automobile or the motorcycle carry them far from the supervision of any local authority. Mountain or beach parties throw them into intimate and unconventional relationship. A certain amount of flirtation and "spooning" is regarded as harmless fun, but much of this fooling stimulates passion and encourages improper liberties. Dining and drinking together in public places may lead to the private room and its possible abuses. Even where conventional conduct is the rule the subjects of conversation now considered permissible in mixed company sometimes grow dangerously suggestive. Loose jesting and free discussion of sex matters easily fosters a kind of familiarity that may be disastrous for immature and perverse minds. All of which seems to indicate that reserve between the sexes is relaxing in certain quarters and that this greater freedom offers increasing opportunities for questionable practices. We do not mean to imply that frank comradeship between young men and women is an evil. It is rather our purpose to indicate how too rapid withdrawal of restraint may lead to habits of indulgence (such as sometimes occurs to a marked degree in the families of immigrants), which in turn, often without premeditation, end in disaster.

Enlightenment Concerning Prevention. When to this growing freedom we add a widespread knowledge concerning methods of preventing conception and venereal infection, we face a dangerous combination. Doctors and druggists inform us that the use of mechanical devices and chemical preparations which permit indulgence without great risk to health is increasing. This is a difficult

matter to discuss without trenching upon forbidden ground. Perhaps I can illustrate the point by an example. One evening I watched a young couple hanging about a questionable neighborhood. The girl seemed unwilling to comply with her companion's suggestions. At a late hour, I noticed the pair standing before a drug store window, gazing intently at a display of sanitary articles. After some deliberation, the boy entered the shop, made a purchase and they proceeded to a rooming house. Apparently the solution of their difficulty had been achieved. Druggists have told me that young people are sometimes quite frank in their requests for advice concerning such matters. Armed with safeguards of this nature they may go to the limit. And they often do.

The Right to Happiness. Another tendency which encourages the gratification of natural appetite is the doctrine that the individual has a right to happiness. The old-fashioned notion that life is for the discipline of character and that indulgence in pleasure not well earned is an evidence of weakness now sounds almost quaint in its austerity. Our willingness to grant to youth the joy of life and our eagerness to supply the means of enjoyment is sometimes mistaken to signify that sensual pleasure is the aim of existence and that effort is an evil to be avoided whenever possible. The idea that the world owes everybody a comfortable living is one that readily gains adherents.

This point of view is clearly expressed in the reply of the woman to the Reverend Paul Smith's suggestion that girls from the old San Francisco district go to work. "How can a girl live on $8.00 a week," she said, "when

shoes cost $12.00 a pair?" The clergyman's reply that members of his family could not afford to pay so much for footwear quite passed her reasoning. She was used to luxuries and she obtained them as best she could. So many girls see and crave the nice things about them. Other people have these comforts. Why shouldn't they? They feel starved and cheated without the gay companionship that seems so desirable and is so easy to obtain if one be not over scrupulous. The world appears indulgent to those who succeed in any way. So she takes a chance.

The Commercial Basis of Enjoyment. When we realize that success is generally estimated in terms of money, which secures the means of enjoyment, we discern the commercial factor which often converts sexual looseness into venal prostitution. Many things that add to our happiness are bought and sold. Pretty clothes, good food, comfortable lodgings, opportunities for travel and study can be had for a price. Even companionship and social recognition require financial means. So it is easy to value any service in cash terms. This is the day of the dollar. Money talks. Even virtue has its market. Men barter their brains for good incomes; women trade their hospitality for social position; candidates for public office modify their principles in view of preferment. Selling out is common. The atmosphere of the stock exchange is pervasive.

When a girl realizes that she can secure many desirable things by the exercise of a little business judgment, the way is open to capitalize her personal charms. The demand for her services is active. The market is at-

tractive and accessible. She sees many so-called "good" women toiling ceaselessly for a pittance, and others, named lightly, parading their luxury. If her natural reserve toward sex relations has been early broken down, if she understands how certain disagreeable consequences of loose living may be avoided, if she has actually taken the step which many consider irretraceable, she may decide to get something tangible out of it. She simply sells what she has been giving away. Her loose bargains assume a shrewder character. She goes into this branch of personal service with the intention of making it pay. The life of commercialized vice has got her and she plunges into prostitution.

CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES

Turning now to corrective and preventive measures, we first observe that these fall into two main groups: first, those which urge the repression of vice by law enforcement, and secondly, those which attempt to prevent the evil by supplying adequate opportunities for wholesome living. Both aspects are undoubtedly important, but until recently undue emphasis seems to have been laid upon law enforcement, while the evil itself appears to have been regarded as necessary and unavoidable. We have been told that prostitution has existed since the beginning of history and will always continue with us. So far as a modicum is concerned this is doubtless true, but, as Dr. Flexner has shown, prostitution as a commercial system is subject to great modifications.[1] The standpoint that repression is the only

[1] *Prostitution in Europe*, Chapter XI.

proper attitude and that elimination is the ultimate goal, is one which encourages another method of procedure.

In the chapter on "Reformatory Agencies" we have seen that practically all the vice commissions in this country were unanimous in their insistence upon repressing open forms of the evil and in enforcing laws to bring this about.[1] We have also seen that many of them recommended specific measures for preventing the evil. A study of this table will indicate what were the more important measures urged by bodies of experts a few years ago. The analysis of causal factors presented above may also suggest what measures are needed in order to meet the situation. Herewith is presented a list of measures recommended by various vice commissions, placed roughly in the order of their immediate necessity.

TABLE XIX

A PROGRAM OF REFORM

1.—*Suppress Disorderly Resorts and Their Adjuncts.*

(a) Abolish red-light districts.
(b) Close houses.
(c) Regulate and inspect hotels and rooming houses.
(d) Control saloons, cafés and restaurants.
(e) Check street solicitation.
(f) Patrol and light parks and public places.
(g) License and control automobiles.
(h) Prohibit immoral use of telephones.

2.—*Improve Corrective Agencies.*

(a) Secure morals squads and policewomen.
(b) Develop morals courts, detention homes and probation for women.
(c) Abolish fining system and short term sentences.
(d) Increase custodial care for feeble-minded.
(e) Establish industrial schools and reformatories for women.
(f) More severe penalties for exploiters and patrons.

[1] See Table XVI, pages 265 and following.

3.—*Secure Better Recreation.*
- (a) Control and supervise dance halls and theaters.
- (b) Directed play facilities for children.
- (c) Develop social centers in schools, parks, etc.

4.—*Improve Living and Working Conditions.*
- (a) Better tenements and lodgings for workers.
- (b) Encourage factory legislation, minimum wage and welfare work.
- (c) Enlarge public employment agencies.
- (d) Extend workmen's insurance and mothers' pensions.

5.—*Increase Medical Care.*
- (a) Report venereal disease.
- (b) Establish free clinics and hospital facilities.
- (c) Require certificates for marriage.
- (d) Assexualize perverts.
- (e) Periodic examination of school children and workers.

6.—*Enlarge Educational Facilities.*
- (a) Encourage civic and moral education in schools.
- (b) Establish naturalization courses for foreigners.
- (c) Develop vocational training and guidance.
- (d) Sex education for parents and adolescents.

Most of these suggestions are self-explanatory, but a few words in modification may conclude our treatment of the subject.

Red-light districts, so far as officially recognized and regulated by the police, have practically been abolished. The main effort now is to secure their suppression after the authority of the Federal government has been relaxed. Scattered houses unquestionably exist in many places, but the enforcement of laws already upon the statute books is sufficient to close most of them. The regulation and inspection of hotels and rooming houses was considered by the Commission on Training Camp Activities as a second step in the fight against prostitution.[1] The control of saloons, cafés and restaurants

[1] Major Bascom Johnson, *Next Steps.*

has been rendered much easier by carrying through the measures for national prohibition. Street solicitation and the control of other public places is a matter which can readily be dealt with by the police. The control of automobiles and telephones, on the other hand, is a difficult matter and cannot be successfully brought about without the coöperation of the owning companies.

In the work of suppressing disorderly resorts and also of improving corrective agencies, important aid may be rendered by anti-vice societies, which will check up the work of the police and call the attention of the authorities to violations of the law. Such organizations as those mentioned in a previous chapter have done much to secure progress along these lines.

The second group of suggestions deals with the police, courts and reformatories, which have already been considered in detail elsewhere. It seems logical to follow up the suppression of disorderly resorts with adequate instruments to correct the individuals concerned. But it is obvious that dealing with victims and agents of the traffic does not prevent the appearance of new individuals. Therefore, the third and fourth groups attempt to show important lines along which the leisure and working life of men and women may be safeguarded.

The need for medical care and education is obvious from two standpoints. First, to try and inform those who already suffer because of vice. Secondly, to forewarn and safeguard others from encountering such physical and moral perils. In the last analysis it may be said that the innate desires of men and women are after all the prime causes of immorality. Social conditions

may offer various opportunities for their satisfaction, we are told, but until human nature is radically changed we cannot hope to prevent prostitution. It may be replied that this transformation is precisely what education attempts to accomplish, not by eradicating the impulse of sex, but by informing and controlling it to seek expression in ways that bring lasting happiness. Human nature is not seen at its best in the unformed child or the passionate savage but rather in the trained and socialized man and woman. Much misery is unquestionably the result of sheer ignorance and lack of judgment. We must therefore strive to remedy such defects of mind and character. The important function of sex cannot be left to chance instruction nor to reckless experiment. Yet we are still uncertain as to the wisest methods of imparting this information.

To some it seems that much of the effort to teach children the mysteries of human reproduction by describing the growth of flowers and starfish is beside the point, because it does not give youngsters an understanding of the essential facts they seek to discover. On the other hand, a bare recital of the physiology of sex and depicting the horrible ravages of venereal diseases will not deter a bold spirit from experimentation. Many wise teachers are striving to find an adequate method of sex education. The main problem appears to be not only how young persons may acquire certain necessary information, but more especially how they may early develop the right attitude toward the matters disclosed.

Social Morality. This brings us to the last point. If we are to stamp out prostitution we must establish a

sound social morality. So long as personal indulgence is regarded merely as a matter of individual concern, we shall continue to develop prostitutes, their patrons, and panderers. But when the belief is generally accepted that sex functions are essentially for the propagation of the race we shall cut the tap root of selfish exploitation. How this can best be effected is a matter for future determination. But it would seem that the idea of loyalty to future generations can be inculcated as well as reverence toward the past or allegiance to our fellow countrymen. When continence becomes a virtue comparable with patriotism, we shall cease to tolerate the sowing of wild oats as a foible and put such dissipation from us as treason to humanity.

APPENDIX I

FORMS OF RESORT CARDS AND INTERVIEW BLANKS USED IN FIELD INVESTIGATION

The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

PARLOR HOUSE

Date ..... Time .....

Address (exact number must be given) ..... P. P. .....

Description house—No. stories, etc. .....

Owner of property ..... Address .....

Character of neighborhood .....

1 block of school, church, public institution—which .....

From where solicited—window, doorway of this house, or other place .....

..... Officer in sight—where .....

Number ..... Who took you to house .....

Madame ..... Any receiving parlor .....

No. inmates counted ..... No. inmates estimated .....

No. men in parlor ..... Price of house .....

Perversion ..... Price ..... How much girls get .....

Price of drinks.....What else sold.....

Price .....How inmates dressed .....

Claim health certificates? .....Get one? .....

Names and ages of girls as far as possible.....

Weekly board paid by girls.....Drugs used—what .....

Names of men connected with house.....

Daily or weekly receipts.....

Rent paid .....Protection .....

Get material for history cards, etc. Information about police.....

Remarks: (Rent—try to get evidence to show amount of business done. Account books, etc.) .....

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The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

TENEMENT

Date.....Time.....

Address verified and found correct.....

Address (exact number must be given).....P P.....

Description house—No. stories, apartments, etc.....

Owner of property..... Address.....

Character of neighborhood.....

1 block of school, church, public institution—which.....

From where solicited—window, doorway of this house or other place.....

.....Officer in sight—where.....

Number..... Who took you to house.....

Location of disorderly apartment.....

Madame.....Any receiving parlor.....

No. inmates counted.....No. inmates estimated.....

No. men in parlor..... .....Price of house.....

Perversion.....Price.....How much girls get.....

Price of drinks.....What else sold.....

Price.....How inmates dressed.....

Claim health certificates?.....Get one?.....

Names and ages of girls as far as possible.....

Weekly board paid by girls.....Drugs used—what .....

Names of men connected with House.....

Daily or weekly receipts.....

Rent paid.....Protection.....

Get material for history cards. Also get facts regarding police.....

Remarks.....

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.....

The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

FURNISHED ROOM Date.....Time.....

Address (exact number must be given)..... P. P.....

Description house—No. stories, etc.....

Owner of property.....Address.....

Character of neighborhood .....

1 block of school, church, public institution—which.....

From where solicited—window, doorway of this house, or other place.....

.....Officer in sight—where.....

Number ..... Who took you to house.....

Name and age of woman.....Price of woman.....

Perversion.....Price.....How much she pays housekeeper for privileges.....

.....Legitimate weekly room rent.....

No. prostitutes connected with house--Counted .....Estimated.....

No. men counted going to rooms with women.....

Get material for history card; as much personal history of girl as possible—previous occupation, wages, where she came from, where she lives now, has she a cadet, etc. Also, any information regarding place or police you can secure from girl. Write out in full and use blank card same side as this to attach. Fill out history card.....

Remarks .....

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.....

.....

The address most important. Report worthless unless it is correct.

HOTEL

Name..... Date..... Time.....

Address verified and found correct.....

Address (exact number must be given)..... P. P.....

Proprietor..... Address .....

Character of neighborhood .....

1 block of school, church, public institution—which .....

No. unescorted women loitering about premises .....

No. unescorted women loitering about streets in vicinity .....

Where .....

No. women seen stopping men in vicinity .....

No. men seen going into hotel with women.....

Officer in sight—where..... Number .....

No. women who solicited you ..... Where .....

Name and age of women ..... Where she lives .....

Price of woman..... Price room .....

Rebate to women on drinks? .....

Rebate to women on room rent? .....

Get material for history card .....

Remarks .....

The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

STREET Date..... Time .....

Name or number of street and *state exact location*..... P. P.....

Number of women seen you believe to be prostitutes.....

Apparent ages ..... How many stopped men.....

Names and ages of any..... Home address of any.....

No. who solicited you..... To go where—house of prostitution, tenement, furnished room or hotel—which .....

Address (exact number must be given.....

Name of woman..... Apparent age .....

Price of woman..... Perversion ..... Price.....

Price of room ..... Officer in sight—where.....

Number .....

Get material for history card; as much personal history of girl as possible—previous occupation, wages, where she came from, where she lives now, has she a cadet, etc. Also, any information regarding place or police you can secure from girl. Write out in full and use blank card same side as this to attach. Fill out history card.....

Remarks .....

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Note: Whenever you are solicited to go to any address, make out a card covering that address—house, tenement, furnished room or hotel, as the case may be. This is imperative.

The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

SALOON Date.....Time.....

Concert Hall connected..... ....Cafe.....Dance Hall (see dance hall card).....

Name.....Address (exact number must be given)..... .....P P.....

Address verified and found correct.....

Proprietor..... Address... .....

Character of neighborhood .....

1 block of school, church, public institution—which.....

Brewery sign.....Price of beer in rear room..... .....

Kind of entertainment.....No. of men alone in rear room.....

No. unescorted women in rear room .....No. escorted women..... .....

Apparent Ages..... .....Names of any.....

Home address of any.....No. who solicited you.....

To go where—house of prostitution, tenement, furnished room or hotel—which.....

Address (exact number must be given).....

Price of woman.....Perversion.....Price.....

Price of room .....Any solicitation by men—who.....

Rebate (how much) to women on drinks?.....

Rebate (how much) to women on room rent.....

Assignation rooms over saloon?.....Is parlor connected with rooms?.....

Is hotel over saloon.....House with inmates over saloon?.....

Get material for history card; as much personal history of girl as possible—previous occupation, wages, where she came from, where she lives now, has she a cadet, etc. Fill out history card. Also any information regarding place or police you can secure from girl.

Write out in full and use blank card same size as this to attach.....

NOTE—Whenever you are solicited to go to any address, make out a card covering that address—house, tenement, furnished room or hotel, as the case may be. This is imperative.

Remarks.....

.....

.....

The address is most important. Report is worthless unless it is correct.

DANCE HALLS

(Moving Picture Shows, Burlesque Theatres, all other places where young people go for amusement. *In writing card indicate which one.*) .....

Character of place .....

Address .....P. P. ..... Proprietor .....

Name under which dance is given .....

No. men present ..... No. women present .....

No. boys up to 16 ..... 16 to 21 .....

No. girls up to 16 ..... 16 to 21 .....

Liquor sold to minors? ..... Where is bar situated .....

No. intoxicated ..... Apparent ages .....

Prices of drinks ..... Tough dancing .....

Describe .....

Are girls employed? ..... Mention character of employment and personal information regarding wages (fill out history cards) .....

Professional prostitutes present?.....How many .....

Were you solicited .....Price .....

To go where and character of place—hotel, etc. (make other card for this address) .....

Character of men and boys present.....

Character of entertainment, does it appeal to sex.....

Dangers to young girls in moving picture show or burlesque theatre or other place of amusement (state definitely and describe).....

.....

Remarks .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Forms

PLACE	Date	Mayor
Population		
Occupations		
Housing		

VICE—Segregated	Scattered	Investigation
Control, legal	Police Regul.	Effects
Registration	Toleration	
Fines	Repression	
Examination	Protection	Dist. Closed
Clandestine	Charity	Effects
Increasing	Diminishing	
Supply	Destination	

Police Methods
Courts
Correctional Institutions
Reform Organization
Health
Recreation
Education
Charity & Religion

Location		Hours	Attractions	Solicitations	Women	Price	Patrons Police
Streets	Number						Proprietor
Houses							
Rooms							
Hotels							
Saloons							
Restaurants							
Dance Halls							

Total Places Women Patrons Revenue
Attitude, Owners
Attitude, Public

Forms

HEALTH: Place Date Officer

Venereal diseases: Reportable Segregated Compulsory Treatment
Hospital Beds Cases per yr
G-U Clinics Hrs wk Cases per yr
No. Practitioners Venereal patients per yr
Total Cases % male % white % native
In city % adult % married social status
Source of infection
Public pros. Clandestine Friend Spouse Accidental

Prostitutes: Diseased Examination
Treatment
Recommendations
Genl health
Mentality
Use liquor Drugs
Perversion Mortality Homosex

Illegitimacy: extent Abortion
Maternity hospitals beds
Midwives licensed

Contraceptives: Drugs Prescribe Dispense
Articles Advertised

Quacks: Advertisements
Methods Practice

Housing: Overcrowding
Lodgers Bed room shared
Toilets Baths

Working conditions
Wages and vice

Recreation: Character Adequacy
Effects

Sex Education When By whom

Causes of vice
Continence, effects
Recommendations Methods of prophylaxis

Forms

LEGAL: Place Date Informant

Prostitution: A crime? Law covering Penalty
How enforced? Police attitude
Court trying Procedure
Cases per yr Disposition

Disorderly house: Definition Law
Penalty Sufficient evidence
How abated? How obtained?
Property owners' rights Responsibilities
Court Cases per yr Disposition

Hotels: Registration Baggage Relet
Responsibility Guilty knowledge
Evidence Convictions
Owners' attitude

Saloons: License Attractions
Closing hours Sitting rooms Booths
Minors allowed Women unattended Bedrooms
Complaints Evidence
Prosecution Penalty
Disposition Liquor dealers' attitude

Repression: Effective measures
Provisions needed
Coördination (local, state, and federal)
Attitude of men Bar
" Legislature Local admin.
" public
Recommendations

Forms

AGENCY	Place	Date	Informant
Purpose			
History			
Plant		Equipment	
Administration		Finance	
Methods			
Results			

Cases: Number		How found		
Sex	Age	Race	Nativity	Conjugal
Education		Occupations		
Intelligence			Religion	
Health		Venereal disease		

Local conditions:	Segregation	Scattering
Control		Toleration
Repression		Measures
Police		Housing
Courts		Health
Institutions		Industry
Education		Religion
Recreation		Public Opinion

Prost. increasing	why	Sources
" decreasing	"	What becomes
" changing	"	How
Clandestine	Charity	
Illegitimacy	Abortion	
Liquor	Drugs	
Automobiles		

Causes:

Remedies:

Forms

POLICE: Place | Date | Officer

Segregation | Districts

Control methods

Registration | Fines | Examination

Age | Dress | Restricted places

Advertisements | Hours | Order

District Closed | When | Why

How

Effects

Vol. prostitution | Clandestine vice | Scatteration

Vol. crime | Outward order | Left town

Scattered | Where | Vice squad

Tolerated | Why | Policewomen

Repressed | How | Evidence

Increasing | Reasons | Sources

Decreasing | Reasons | Disposal

Attitude, administration | Courts

Attitude, police | Reformers

Number | Location | Women | Liquor | Entertainment | Patrons | Proprietor

Houses

Rooms

Saloons

Hotels

Cafes

Dance Halls

Streets | Hours | Regulations

Places | Women | Pimps

Causes of vice

Difficulties in handling

Suggestions

APPENDIX II

EXHIBITS

$\_\_\_\_\_$ CITY OF DOUGLAS

LICENSE TAX RECEIPT No. 5900

HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION

THIS IS TO CERTIFY That _____

ha__ this day paid the sum of _____ DOLLARS

being the monthly license tax imposed by ordinance upon HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION, and the said

_____ is hereby authorized to carry on a House

of Prostitution at _____, from the first day of _____

191__, until the first day of _____, 191__.

Dated this _____ day of _____, 191__.

_____ City Marshal.

_____ City Clerk

EXHIBIT "A"

EXHIBIT "B"

RULES FOR RESERVATION

El Paso, Texas

Women must keep screen doors fastened on inside and keep curtain on lower half of screen door.

Must sit back from doors and windows and not sit with legs crossed in a vulgar manner and must keep skirts down.

Must remain in rooms until after twelve o'clock, and when they come out on the street after twelve o'clock they must not be loud or boisterous or be playing with each other or with men. They must not be hugging men or women around the street or be trying to pull men into their cribs.

Must not sit in windows with screens down, or stand in doors at any time.

Must never leave curtains up with men in their rooms.

Must not cross street in middle of block, but must go to Second or Third street and cross over when crossing street.

Must not yell or scream from one room to another, or use loud, vulgar language.

Must not leave line and remain away all night. Must not solicit off the reservation, on public streets or in the public parks.

Must not wear gaudy clothes or commit any act of flirtation or other act that will attract unusual attention on the streets.

Must not go to supper on the reservation with men or remain around restaurants flirting or joking with men.

Must not encourage men to hang around their doors.

No minor will be allowed to frequent or loiter on the reservation.

Exhibits

Women must not banter or quarrel with each other in front of cribs or on streets.

When women claim men are diseased they must refund money when men furnish doctor's certificate showing them to be free from disease. If men are diseased the woman should be allowed to keep the money given her for examination.

Women should not take in drunken men and demand pay for their time.

Must not work with light out.

When women are on street must be in full dress and not wear "kimonos."

Must not solicit at back doors.

No curious people allowed on street.

Officers will not show partiality to any one and must not take sides in any factional row or dispute. When women are having a dispute and will not obey officer send them all to the station.

Officers must not drink or mingle with women in any manner. They must be disinterested at all times.

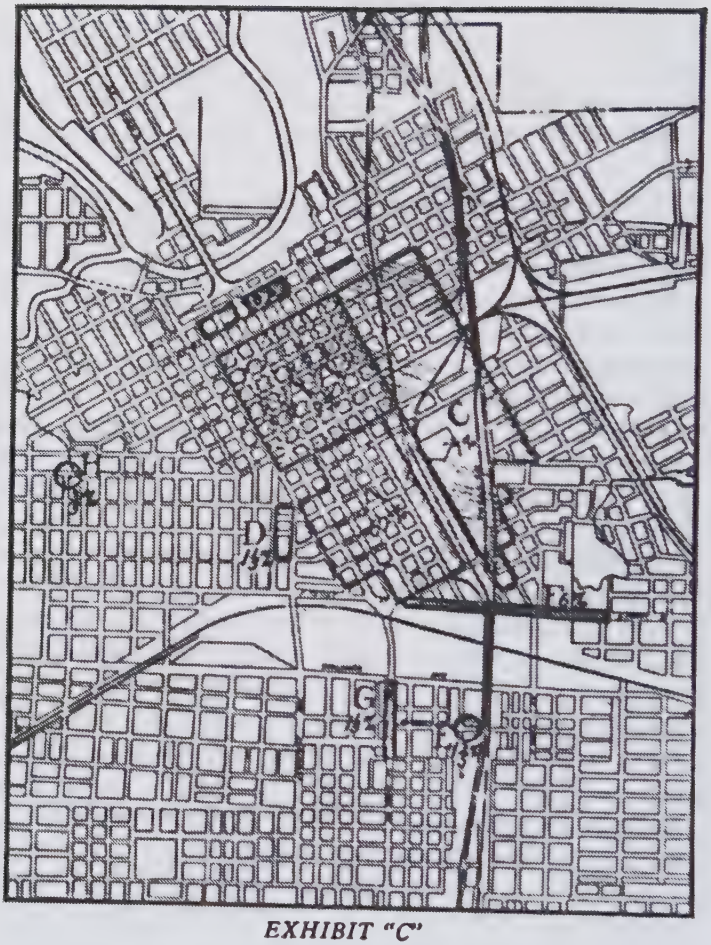

EXHIBIT "C"

CHART SHOWING PROPORTION OF TOTAL ARRESTS IN FORMER DISTRICT (A), FORT WORTH.

EXHIBIT "D"

HEALTH DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS

Governing Women of the Restricted District
Douglas, Ariz.

(1) Upon arrival in the district the usual examination and blood-test shall be made before any certificate or license will be issued.

(2) Certificate and license will be issued subject to the result of blood-test.

(3) In case of a positive reaction three (3) days will be allowed in which to report to the City Health Officer for a further test, or to apply to a physician for treatment. If there is no report or application for treatment within the three days the license will be revoked, and no further license or certificate issued until these regulations have been complied with.

(4) Licenses will be issued to women under treatment upon certificate of physician that they are non-infective.

(5) Women who are having a second test made will be allowed three days from the receipt of the report. (See paragraph 3.)

(6) Blood-test of all women in the restricted district will be made every three (3) months. Physical examination will be required twice monthly. Individuals will be required to submit to a blood-test whenever, in the opinion of the examining physician, they present lesions or symptoms suggestive of syphilis.

(7) Women having any suspicious discharge will be required to have a microscopical examination of the discharge before any certificate will be issued.

Adopted and issued by THE BOARD OF HEALTH OF THE CITY OF DOUGLAS, Jan. 17, 1917.

City Health Officer.

EXHIBIT "E"

San Antonio, Texas,
January 14th, 1917.

Rules for the MONTE CARLO

1. Prices, $3.00, $5.00, $10.00, $15.00 and $20.00 according to length of time.
2. Girls must get their money in advance as house is not responsible.
3. Board $18.50 with Stove $20.00 per week.
4. Lights must be turned off on leaving room or girls will be charged extra.
5. Girls getting drunk outside must not come in the parlor.
6. Parlor hours Eight to Four. All girls not busy must be in the parlor at proper hours.
7. Girls are allowed one night off each week.
8. Girls must not swear over phone or phone will be cut off.
9. No breakfast served after one o'clock, unless girls are busy.
10. No men barred from spending money in this house except girls' sweethearts that board in the house, as men can spend their money with whom they please.
11. Girls must not sit on men's laps in the parlor.
12. Girls must not grab and squabble over one man as that runs men out of the house.
13. Any girl starting argument in the parlor will be sent to her room.
14. Girls must not tell men in the parlor to leave as landlady will attend to that.
15. Girls must not turn lights out on men in the parlor.

16. Bed Room talk and other conversations not interesting to men must not be talked in the parlor.
17. Vulgar conversations must not be carried on at the table as that is the time of Peace.
18. No dope fiends or whiskey heads allowed in this house as life is too short to be troubled with them.
19. No girls boarded here without baggage.
20. Any girl found to be a ribber in this house will be asked for her room.
21. Any woman getting drunk and disagreeable must go to her room.
22. Girls must stay out of Hall while company is coming in.
23. All girls must be called when asked for.
24. Girls must not butt in on friends waiting for other girls.
25. Girls must not argue with men in the parlor, as landlady will settle all arguments.
26. All girls boarding in this house must be examined once a week by physician and get certificate each week.
27. No cheap women allowed here. When discovered will be thrown out.
28. Girls must be honest. Any one touching men will be given full extent of the Law.
29. Any girls not able to dance and entertain men are not wanted here as this is no place for old maids and old women.
30. Any one not living up to these rules and don't like the management of this house can vacate.
31. Girls should tell landlady when servants do wrong.

Proprietress and owner

MONTE CARLO

C. J. McDER
Lithuanian Nat
TABLE HOCKEY

Shuffle Board
Every Friday
The Best of Whiskies
J. KOPCZY
SALOON
Jas. J. Parker

Society, San Francisco.

CUT.—

Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene, Hartford,
Sex Education League, Hartford.

DELAWARE.—

Delaware Society for Social Hygiene.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—

Social Hygiene Society, Washington.

ILLINOIS.—

Chicago Law and Order League,
Chicago Society of Social Hygiene,
Committee of Fifteen, Chicago,
Illinois Social Hygiene League, Chicago,
Illinois Vigilance Association, Chicago,
Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago.

List of Societies

INDIANA.—
State Civic Union, Indianapolis,
Indiana Society of Social Hygiene, Indianapolis.

KENTUCKY.—
Social Hygiene Committee of the Community Council, Louisville,
Kentucky Welfare League, Louisville.

LOUISIANA.—
Louisiana Citizens League, New Orleans.

MARYLAND.—
Maryland Social Hygiene Society, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.—
Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene, Boston,
New England Watch and Ward Society, Boston.

MICHIGAN.—
Michigan Society for Social Hygiene, Ann Arbor,
Morals Efficiency Commission of Grand Rapids.

MINNESOTA.—
Minnesota State Commission of Social Hygiene, St. Paul,
Northwest Society for the Prevention of Vice, Minneapolis,
Women's Co-operative Alliance, Minneapolis,
The Committee of Thirteen, Minneapolis.

MISSOURI.—
Society for Suppression of Commercialized Vice, Kansas City,
Missouri Social Hygiene Association, Saint Louis.

NEBRASKA.—
State Welfare Commission, Lincoln.

List of Societies

NEW YORK.—

American Social Hygiene Association, New York City,
American Social Purity Association, New York City,
Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York City,
Committee of Fourteen, New York City.

OHIO.—

The Social Hygiene Society of Cincinnati and Vicinity, Cincinnati,
Bureau of Social Hygiene, Toledo.

OREGON.—

Oregon Social Hygiene Society, Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA.—

Joint Committee on Public Morals, Erie,
Law and Order Society, Lancaster,
Women's Vice Protest Committee, Pittsburgh.

TEXAS.—

Anti-Vice League, Austin.
Society for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Fort Worth,
Texas Social Hygiene Association, Dallas.

VIRGINIA.—

Virginia Social Hygiene Association, Richmond.

WASHINGTON.—

Spokane Society of Social and Moral Hygiene, Spokane.

WISCONSIN.—

Milwaukee Social Hygiene Society.
Milwaukee Society for the Suppression of Commercialized Vice.

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